THE RESURRECTED NATIONS

ISAAC DON LEVINE

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THE RESURRECTED NATIONS

SHORT HISTORIES OF THE PEOPLES FREED BY THE GREAT WAR AND STATEMENTS OF THEIR NATIONAL CLAIMS

BY

ISAAC DON LEVINE

Author of "The Russian Revolution"

WITH MAPS

29446

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PREFACE

The collapse of the Russian, Turkish, Austro-Hungarian and German empires set free a large number of oppressed nationalities. This book aims to present, from a strictly impartial viewpoint, the cases of those of the liberated races and peoples of the fallen four empires which have awakened to the call of nationalism and now demand the early attention of the world's public opinion. Each of the eighteen chapters of the book deals with a particular national problem.

The purpose of the writer has been to give to the average reader an unbiased, clear, authoritative summary of the history and present status of the nationalities discussed. Is it necessary to refer to the patent fact that both the United States and Europe are flooded by an actual torrent of conflicting, confusing, misleading statements by the advocates of the antagonistic nationalities clamoring for the public's support? To recite to the bewildered reader the sober truth, while sympathetic toward the cause of oppressed nationalism, is what I endeavored to do in these pages.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, I wish to state here that this book is entirely new and does

not contain any of the seven articles on the new nations which I wrote for *The New York Tribune* in 1917. Also, this work is not a discussion of the problem of nationality and is not an effort on the part of the author to solve the various national questions. It is not a controversial treatise, but a popular history. If the information it contains will contribute to the clarification in the public's mind of the fundamental facts regarding the emancipated nationalities of Europe and the Near East, its object will have been attained.

ISAAC DON LEVINE

New York City
March, 1919

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Part I

THE RESURRECTED NATIONS IN EUROPE

I

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Of all the romantic national resurrections of the Great War the romance of the birth of Czecho-Slovakia is the most wonderful. Perhaps never before in the history of nations was the regeneration of a people accompanied by such glory as that which attended the rise of the Czecho-Slovaks from the mediæval darkness that was Austria-Hungary. In 1914 they were one of the least known of the world's oppressed nationalities; the Poles, the Finns, the Jews had attracted much more attention than the little heroic nation that preserved its identity in spite of centuries of grinding between the German and Magyar millstones. Hereafter none of the newly risen nations will overshadow the Czecho-Slovaks.

Czecho-Slovakia's existence as a sovereign nation has already been determined by the deeds of its own sons. Some of the liberated nationalities look to the great powers helpless, in quest of justice. Others may become "spheres of influence" of certain powerful states. But the Czecho-Slovaks have won their independence in the course of the

war by force of arms, and have secured it by contributing materially to the collapse of the Central Powers. Czecho-Slovakia is, therefore, a full-fledged member of the European family of nations.

The Czecho-Slovaks were the pioneers of the Slavs in Europe, forming a bulwark against the German onslaughts toward the east. It has been said that the Czecho-Slovaks made possible the rise and development of Poland, and it was the latter, together with Lithuania, that stopped the Teutonic movement in the direction of Russia, preventing the formation between the Dnieper and the Rhine of a huge German empire.

The Czecho-Slovaks penetrated into the very heart of Europe, establishing themselves in the geographical center of the continent. The Czechs and the Slovaks are one and the same race, but were early divided by their conquerors. The first, inhabiting Bohemia, Moravia and some sections of Silesia, were incorporated with Austria. The second, living in so-called Slovakia, were subjugated by the Magyars and became part of Hungary. United, the land of the Czecho-Slovaks is bounded on the north by Germany and Poland; on the west by Germany; on the south by Austria and Hungary, and on the east by Ukraine. Geographically, then, the Czecho-Slovaks formed the very backbone of the disrupted Dual Monarchy. Numerically, they were far from being a negligible quantity, as there are about seven and a

half million Czechs and three million Slovaks. Economically, Bohemia was the most developed and productive part of Austria, yielding five times as much coal as the rest of the State, twice as many agricultural products, and bearing sixty-three per cent. of Austria's taxation.

The history of the Czechs goes back almost to the beginning of the Christian era. Nearly two thousand years ago their forefathers waged bitter warfare against the Teutons. They established their supremacy after several centuries of struggle, and already in the seventh century Bohemia emerges as a consolidated nation. Christianity was introduced into Moravia in the ninth century by two Greek missionaries, and was followed by an expansion of the country resulting in the creation of a great state comprising Bohemia proper, Moravia, Slovakia, part of Silesia and Galicia. Then came the Magyars. In 907 they overran Slovakia and Moravia, establishing themselves permanently in the former province. A war ensued which afforded an opportunity to Boleslaw the Brave, of Poland, to place his brother on the Bohemian throne. The latter, in order to keep himself in power, invoked German aid and protection, opening a thousand-year struggle between the Czechs and Germans.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the German rulers sought to secure for themselves the Bohemian crown, provoking internal dissension

favoring their designs. However, early in the thirteenth century a purely Czech dynasty was set up in Bohemia, which soon became, under Ottakar II, a powerful state, extending as far south as the Adriatic. This ruler became involved in a war with Rome at a time when internal strife pervaded his empire and lost all his newly won possessions, dying in battle against the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph, in 1278. Twenty-eight years later his grandson was assassinated, ending the native dynasty. The German rulers of the Roman Empire claimed the Bohemian throne, and John of Luxemburg, son of Emperor Henry, was, after some unhappy choices, elected by the Czechs to be their king. He was a friend of France, establishing close relations between the French and the Czechs. King John was succeeded by his son, Charles, who raised the prestige and power of Bohemia to great heights. He was the chosen head of the Roman Empire, but made Prague his capital and founded a great university there. Civilization made tremendous progress in Bohemia during his reign, and Charles is still regarded by the Czechs as the greatest ruler in the history of their country. He devoted all his energies to the task of upbuilding and uplifting Bohemia, dying in the midst of his labors in 1378.

It was during the reign of his successor that the epoch-making movement for church reform, which had taken root in Bohemia, assumed definite shape

under the leadership of John Huss, the first champion of freedom of thought in Europe in the Middle Ages, preceding Luther by a century. The Hussite cause was more than a fight against the corruption of the Roman Church; it was also a Czech national movement. Nearly the entire nation followed Huss and adopted his doctrines. He was tried at Constance by a religious council, declared a heretic, and burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. Among the articles of accusation at the trial was one stating that Huss had instigated among his countrymen national hatred against the Germans. To this he replied: "I have affirmed and yet affirm that Bohemians should by right have the chief place in the offices of the Kingdom of Bohemia, even as they that are French-born in the Kingdom of France, and the Germans in their own countries, where the Bohemian might have the faculty to rule his people and the Germans bear rule over the Germans." The martyrdom of Huss was of inestimable value to the Czech national movement.

"The murderers of John Huss were able to burn his quivering body and scatter its ashes in the River Rhine," writes Professor Charles D. Hazen. "But they could not extinguish the glory and the power of his life and teaching. As has so often happened in this world, those who sat in the seats of the mighty proved unnecessarily purblind. The vivid human spirit is a spark that is not

easily snuffed out but very easily sets the world in conflagration. It was so in the instance of John Huss, whose fate inflamed the entire Czech nation to avenge his death. The famous Hussite Wars, wars of religion, also racial wars, revealed the Czechs to themselves and to all Europe, and stamped indelible glory upon the Bohemian flag and created a legend, a legend true and authentic, which has set Czech blood tingling ever since with the ecstasy of national pride, of national devotion.

"It is no wonder that this people is hopelessly wedded to the ideas of liberty and independence. The spirit of the nation was adequately and superbly expressed once and for all in the person of John Huss. Happy, indeed, is that people which has constantly in the forefront of its consciousness so unblemished a character, so distinguished an intellect, so noble a life. For his devotion to the two supreme principles of individual and national freedom John Huss paid with his life. He never once deflected from his principles, he never flinched before the hideous fate which the brutality of his age devised for him. No nation in the world possesses a more dazzling oriflamme than Bohemia possesses in the career of John Huss."

The death of Huss was the signal for a long and bloody struggle. The Czech nobles met and passed a resolution of protest against the execution of Huss, whom they characterized as "a good,

just and Catholic man who had for many years been favorably known in the kingdom by his life, conduct and fame, and who had been convicted of no offense," adding that his accusers were "liars, vile traitors and calumniators of Bohemia and Moravia, the worst of all heretics, full of all evil, sons of the devil." This protest was despatched to the council at Constance and was taken as a declaration of war by the Roman Church. In the battles that followed the German settlers of Bohemia supported the Roman Church. However, the Czechs, led by the blind Zizka, a popular hero, fought valiantly, repeatedly defeating the enemy forces, and ended with invasion of Hungary and the German states. The Roman Church was compelled to make concessions and recognize the Hussites.

With the passing of the external danger there developed in Bohemia a long quarrel over the status of the monarchy, whether it was elective or hereditary. The country was divided into two parties. King Matthias, of Hungary, took advantage of the internal strife and invaded Moravia. Supported by the Catholics, he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, in opposition to George of Podebrad, the leader of the national, Hussite, elements. There were thus two kings ruling over the Czechs. With the death of George, Matthias of Hungary appeared to have obtained control over Bohemia, but the Hussites proceeded to

elect Prince Wladislaw of Poland as their king. There ensued a protracted struggle between the two rulers, which ended in 1490, when Wladislaw was chosen, upon the death of Matthias, to the Hungarian throne. During the reign of Wladislaw serfdom was introduced into Bohemia, and the nobles were granted privileges which they had never possessed. Wladislaw died in 1516, and his son Louis, King of Hungary, and successor to the Bohemian throne, perished in 1526 in a campaign against the Turks.

That was a fateful year in the history of the Czech people, marking the establishment of Habsburg rule over Bohemia, a rule which was to last nearly four centuries, carrying with it oppression, persecution and desolation. A diet representing the nobles, clergy and townsmen gave to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, of the Habsburgs, the Bohemian crown on October 23, 1526. Ferdinand was an ambitious ruler and succeeded, in spite of some opposition, in promulgating a charter stating that he had been elected King of Bohemia because of the hereditary claims of his wife, Anna. Then came the great Protestant movement in Germany which was related to the Hussite cause. The German Protestants, hard pressed by Rome, whose emperor was a brother of Ferdinand, appealed to the Czechs for support. On the other hand, the Roman ruler appealed to his brother for aid to suppress the Protestants. Ferdinand

made an attempt to raise an army, but it refused to follow him into Germany. The Czechs had a number of grievances against Ferdinand and rose against him, meeting in a national assembly to demand the re-establishment of the electiveness of the monarchy, religious liberty, and other rights. An army was raised by the assembly for the purpose of lending support to the German Protestants, but it was too late as the Protestants in Germany had been crushed. Ferdinand then forced the Czechs to renounce their sympathy for the reformers of Germany. He returned to his country and occupied Prague with an army of foreign mercenaries, punished the leaders of the revolt, and persecuted the Czechs in various ways. He established the Jesuits in Bohemia, and they proved a very oppressive factor in Bohemian national life. He also succeeded in making the Bohemian throne hereditary for the Habsburgs, which definitely placed Bohemia under Austrian rule.

For a century the Hussites were hard pressed by the Habsburg rulers and their Jesuits. The Czechs and the Hussites now became identical. The Habsburgs and the Catholics were one and the same, on the other hand. The struggle that went on from generation to generation in Bohemia was therefore a religious-political movement. The Czechs continued to demand religious liberty. The Catholics, supported by the Habs-

burgs, did not relax their persecution of the Hussites. With the accession to the throne, in June, 1617, of Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, who was a fanatical opponent of the Protestants, a crisis in the Bohemian situation was not long delayed. Due to the aggression of the Catholics, a revolt was precipitated in May, 1618, which was in fact the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. The rebellion was a movement on the part of the Czechs to get rid of the Habsburgs, to win religious and national freedom. King Ferdinand was formally deposed and a Protestant prince elected king. This was the signal for the bitter religious wars that involved nearly all of Europe, and which were fought mostly on Bohemian territory.

At the beginning of this period of warfare Bohemia had a population of three million; at its end there were only eight hundred thousand inhabitants left in Bohemia. Protestantism was wiped out with fire and sword. The Czech nobility was mercilessly rooted out and their lands confiscated. Bohemia's ancient rights were abrogated. Catholicism was forced upon the surviving population, while in place of the Bohemian aristocracy an alien ruling class was planted by the Habsburgs. With the downfall of Czech national power also came the end of Bohemian literature which had flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Jesuits made it one of their chief purposes to destroy systematically the

Czech literature. One Jesuit leader boasted that "he had himself burned no fewer than 60,000 Czech volumes!" The Czechs were made the subjects of Austria and their land became a province of the absolute monarchy of the Habsburgs.

From 1620, when the battle of the White Mountain, in which the Czechs were disastrously beaten, was fought, up to the nineteenth century, Czech national life was extinguished. The Jesuits promoted the work of Germanization through their control of the educational institutions. When the grip of the Jesuits was broken through the suppression of their order, the Habsburgs initiated their own policy of Germanization. In the course of the eighteenth century the Bohemian institutions were limited gradually in their power, till they became mere shells. This policy culminated in the refusal of Joseph II to be crowned at Prague as King of Bohemia, thus robbing the Czechs of their last vestige of independence.

Early in the nineteenth century a group of Czech scholars devoted themselves to the revival of the almost forgotten Czech language. They succeeded in raising it from its low state, thereby laying the foundations of the Czecho-Slovak national movement. Literary societies and clubs sprang up among the Czechs. Several poets appeared and a National Museum was founded in 1818. A great historian, Francis Palacky (1798-1876), entered upon Bohemia's arena and exerted

tremendous influence over the fortunes of his people. The foremost historian of Bohemia, he also became the acknowledged leader of the modern national movement. Palacky was helped in his labors by a group of brilliant men of letters. The Bohemians under Palacky never went further than a demand for their constitutional rights, i.e., the restoration of Bohemian autonomy under the Habsburgs. It was clearly conceived by the Czech leaders that Austria was built upon the back of Bohemia; that the total separation of the latter from the former would plunge Europe into a general war; and that the limit of Bohemian aspirations should, therefore, be national existence within the boundaries of a federated Austrian Empire.

The revolutionary year of 1848 is memorable in the history of Bohemia. Prague became a leading center of rebellion and for a time succeeded in wresting from the Austrian Emperor recognition of the Czech demands. However, the revolution was crushed throughout Austria-Hungary, and Bohemia was forced to return to its old status. A reign of persecution against liberal and national thought was inaugurated by Austria, which, of course, only helped the dissemination of revolutionary ideas. When Austria began to suffer military defeats, beginning with 1859, the Habsburgs relaxed their despotic rule. Francis Joseph promised to a Czech deputation, in 1861, to

be crowned as King of Bohemia. But he never carried the promise out. In 1866 Austria was again in the throes of a struggle, this time with Prussia, which ended disastrously. Again the Habsburgs tried to win the favor of their oppressed nationalities. To strengthen the empire the Austrians made an agreement with the Magyars, whereby the latter obtained virtual independence and control over part of the Slavonic races of the empire. It was an arrangement between the two strongest parties, the Germans and the Magyars. The Germans alone could not last long, in view of their minority; they therefore decided to share their power with the next strongest element in the state—Hungary—and in 1867 the Dual Monarchy came into existence.

The Czechs violently protested against this arrangement, which incidentally placed their brothers, the Slovaks, again under the heel of the Hungarians. The agitation to restore Bohemia's old constitutional position assumed such proportions that Francis Joseph promised again to be crowned King of Bohemia, just as he had become King of Hungary. In a message to the Bohemian Diet, meeting at Prague, he declared that "in consideration of the former constitutional position of Bohemia and remembering the power and glory which its crown had given to his ancestors, and the constant fidelity of its population, he gladly recognized the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia,

and was willing to confirm this assurance by taking the coronation oath." Again he failed to carry out his pledge.

The whole course of European history might have been different had Francis Joseph kept his word and established Austria on a federal basis. Perhaps the chief cause of the Great War was the struggle between German-Magyar nationalism and Slavonic nationalism. The Austrian Empire was composed of a majority of Slavs and a minority of Germans and Magyars. The satisfaction of the legitimate and reasonable claims of the former half a century ago would have insured the safety of the Austrian imperial structure. The first step toward the erection of a federal empire was the granting of the constitutional demands of the Czechs. Francis Joseph, however, did not resist the aggressive policies of the Germans and Magyars. Both were minorities. Both ruled Slavonic majorities. Both sought to maintain their tyranny and to impress upon the subject peoples their own nationalism. Both, therefore, opposed the creation of an autonomous Bohemia. And both were directly responsible for the fate that has now befallen Austria and Hungary.

After 1867 the Czech national movement entered a new phase. Bohemian literature and arts made tremendous strides, giving birth to a powerful movement to make the Czech language the dominant tongue in Bohemia's schools and govern-

ment institutions. The German language was boycotted, and Czech nationalism was fostered by the Young Czechs, who believed in extremes, and opposed the previous policy of ineffective protests. Basing their doctrines on the fact that three-fifths of the Austrian population were Slavs, the Young Czechs started out with the idea of converting Austria into a kingdom dominated by Slavs, rather than by Germans. The fight waged by the Young Czechs was both external and internal. There were large colonies in Bohemia who were either of German origin or under the influence of German civilization. These were aided by outside forces, mainly Prussian. In spite of their obstinate resistance, the Czech nationalists gradually asserted their supremacy. In 1881 they won the right to the University of Prague, which since then has been completely Czech. In 1891 the Young Czechs became the dominant Bohemian power in the Imperial Reichsrat. In 1897 the Czech language was formally declared from Vienna as official, possessed of equal rights with the German. This was the signal for a new period of hostility and wrangling between the Germans and the Czechs. The former were furious, and the two elements not infrequently came to blows in the Austrian Parliament.

The growth of socialism in Austria and the Russian Revolution of 1905 introduced a new element into the nationalistic feuds. Universal suffrage

was advocated, and the German radicals were supported by the Czechs and other oppressed nationalities in their demands. This reform was finally promulgated, and in 1907 a parliament representing, on a basis of equal suffrage, all the parties and national groups of Austria met in Vienna.

The Great War found Bohemian nationalism developed to its highest degree. Naturally it was in sympathy with the Southern Slavs of Serbia, against whom was directed the famous Austrian ultimatum of July, 1914. The Czechs had all along been friendly toward Russia, for it was there that Pan-Slavism was born, looking toward the liberation of the Slavs from the German-Magyar yoke. But to the Habsburgs the Czecho-Slovaks were Austro-Hungarian subjects. They were soldiers of the imperial armies. When a call for war sounded, they were expected to rise to the support of their oppressors. They had done so in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries. Their Slavonic brethren under the Habsburgs had done so, too, and were going to do so again, in 1914. Wouldn't the Czecho-Slovaks act likewise? It did not enter the Habsburgs' minds that they wouldn't.

But when the Czech regiments were marched to the front to fight their Serbian and Russian brothers, they showed unmistakably where they stood in the great crisis. In Prague itself, in September, 1914, the 28th Regiment, composed of

the sons of the Bohemian capital, gave vent to the emotions of the people by singing Pan-Slavic hymns and by openly bearing a banner on which was inscribed: "We are marching against the Russians, but nobody knows why." The populace of Prague gave an ovation to its brave rebels, and the Austrian officers did not dare to remove the revolutionary banner. Although in Austrian uniforms, under foreign commanders, the Czech soldiers exhibited their defiance of tradition and established authority by deserting in mass, or singly, to the "enemy." The 8th, 11th Landwehr, 28th, 30th, 88th and 102nd Regiments of the Austrian army, had gone over, within a year of the outbreak of the war, to the Russians in regiments, companies, and in small groups. They were Czech regiments, imbued with a powerful national consciousness, totally opposed to the Habsburg rule and government. Parallel with this attitude on the part of the Czechs the Austrian authorities assumed toward Bohemia a policy of suppression and persecution. The Czechs were "traitors." The whole nation was accused by Vienna of high treason. According to the pre-war standards it was treason, for the Czechs were subjects of the Habsburg dynasty. But a new era was beginning for the "subject" nationalities of the world. They were to break old conventions. The Czechs were the first to lead the oppressed races toward a new conception of resurgent nationalism. Mean-

while persecutions at home grew more violent. The Czech radical leaders were arrested. Many eminent figures in Bohemian national life were persecuted or forced to remain in hiding. Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, the foremost Czech of our time, secretly left his country and came to France and England to work for its independence. Together with other exiles he organized abroad a Czecho-Slovak National Council, of which he was elected president. The council took an uncompromising attitude toward the Dual Monarchy. It issued in November, 1915, a manifesto which read, in part, as follows:

"All Bohemian political parties have up to this time been fighting for a qualified independence within the limits of Austria-Hungary. But the events of this terrible war and the reckless violence of Vienna constrain us to claim independence without regard to Austria-Hungary. We ask for an independent Bohemian-Slovak state. The Bohemian people are now convinced that they must strike out for themselves."

And they proceeded to do so. As the number of Czecho-Slovak deserters to Russia increased, they began to ask of the Tsar's government permission to organize a military unit and fight the Austro-Germans. But the Tsar's ministers looked askance at this request. The Czechs were Austrian subjects and should remain loyal to Austria. Otherwise, the soldiers of the many oppressed

nationalities of the Tsar would desert to the Teutons and be organized by them into national units to fight against Russia. So the Czechs were interned in the depths of the empire, in Siberia, Turkestan and other remote regions. They were prisoners of war and treated as such. Only with great difficulty and with the help of the Czech colony in Russia was permission finally obtained from the Tsar's government to organize a Czecho-Slovak legion.

Then came the Russian Revolution. From every corner of vast Russia Czechs and Slovaks wormed their way toward the headquarters of their legion. The desertions from the Austrian army also constantly augmented its ranks. But the big opportunity was still in store for the former subjects of the Habsburgs. There were plenty of soldiers in Russia. The Czecho-Slovaks had to do something more than merely band themselves into regiments and join the Russian army, in order to attain distinction. They did it in the course of the only offensive attempted by the Revolution against the Central Powers, the famous Kornilov movement of July 1, 1917. The Russian soldiers lost heart and stampeded to the rear. Only the Czecho-Slovak brigade and the Finnish troops advanced. The Commander in Chief, General Brusilov, made a report which sent the name of the Czecho-Slovaks resounding from one end of Russia to the other. "The Czecho-Slovaks," he wrote,

"perfidiously abandoned at Tarnopol by our infantry, fought in such a way that the world ought to fall on its knees before them."

There, on the Galician battlefield, in July, 1917, the foundation was really laid for the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The National Council was bound to remain an academic body as long as it was not backed by an army in the field. When such a force did appear, the whole complexion of the Bohemian problem underwent a deep change. The Czecho-Slovaks set themselves to obtain Allied recognition of their army. There was a small contingent of Czecho-Slovaks fighting in France, Bohemia's traditional friend. In December, 1917, a decree signed by the President, Premier and Foreign Minister of France, authorized the formation of a Czecho-Slovak army as a part of the French army. The text of this remarkable document reveals the reason for the subsequent conduct of the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia. It read, in part:

"(1) The Czecho-Slovaks, organized in an autonomous army and recognizing the superior authority of the French High Command from the military point of view, will under their own flag fight against the Central Powers.

"(2) Politically, this national army is placed under the direction of the Czecho-Slovak National Council whose headquarters are in Paris.

"(3) The formation of the Czecho-Slovak army is guaranteed by the French Government.

"(4) The Czecho-Slovak army will be subject to the same dispositions as regards organization, hierarchy, administration, and military discipline as those in force in the French Army.

"(5) The Czecho-Slovak army will be recruited from among—

"(a) Czecho-Slovaks at present serving with the French army;

"(b) Czecho-Slovaks from other countries, admitted to be transferred to the Czecho-Slovak army;

"(c) All those who will voluntarily enter this army for the duration of the war."

There were to be 120,000 soldiers in the Czecho-Slovak army. A volunteer recruiting campaign was launched in the United States and other countries where there were Czecho-Slovak immigrants. Finally, money was advanced by the Allies to the Czecho-Slovak National Council to enable the legions in Russia to go to Vladivostok and thence to France, for with the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace between Russia and the Central Powers the Czecho-Slovak units left the front and concentrated at Bakhmatch, near Kiev, in Ukraine. The Ukrainian government which had negotiated separately with the Central Powers was repudiated by the Ukranian masses and was compelled

to call on the Germans to keep it in power. There followed a battle between the Teutons and the Ukrainian and Russian Red Guards. The Czecho-Slovaks suddenly found themselves threatened by the advancing enemy. The Russian troops, with the exception of a small force, were fleeing eastward. There was no choice for the Czechs but to do the same, leaving a regiment to fight a rear-guard action. There was a severe clash at Bakhmatch, where the Czecho-Slovaks suffered a loss of about six hundred dead and wounded, but accounted for at least two thousand German corpses, which they buried in one day!

Then began the Czecho-Slovak march across Eastern Europe and Asia. Armed to the teeth, with three hundred machine-guns to a regiment, artillery, airplanes, automobiles, horses, all of which they gathered in the disorganized and abandoned war zone, the Czecho-Slovaks formed train after train and ran them toward the east. As the trains proceeded the German and Austrian governments began to realize that a new menace was being created for them. Hitherto the relations between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Russian revolutionists were most amiable. The Bolsheviki, it is true, tried to convert the Czechs to their point of view by propaganda, telling them that they were being duped by the Allies. But the Germans began to exert pressure on the Bolshevist government to stop the progress of the Czecho-Slovaks,

on the ground that Russia was neutral and could not allow armed forces to organize on and go from its territory to fight nations with whom Russia was at peace. The Russian authorities then proposed to the Czecho-Slovaks to disarm. After some negotiations they turned over all their equipment to the Russians, except ten rifles for each one hundred men, on condition that their unmolested passage be guaranteed. With this understanding they resumed their movement.

Slowly, winding over thousands of miles of railroad, eighty trains filled with Czecho-Slovaks moved toward Vladivostok. From the Volga to the Pacific they dotted railroad stations, villages, big and little towns. Finally the first of the long procession reached Vladivostok. It was spring, 1918. The Central Powers expected the Czechs to get stuck in the vastness of Siberia and never reach their goal. But when that first train, after many vicissitudes and difficulties, arrived at the Far Eastern port, they resolved to take action. Under their pressure the Bolshevist government issued an order to stop the Czecho-Slovaks. Along the entire line the trains were halted by Red Guards, among whom were German and Magyar war prisoners who were supposed to have turned into revolutionists, but many of whom were loyal to Vienna and Berlin. Thus at Irkutsk, according to a Czech officer, the following occurred, in his own words.

"Our train, about four hundred men, armed with ten rifles and twenty hand grenades, was surrounded by a few thousand Red Guards, armed with machine guns and cannon. Their commander gave our men ten minutes to surrender their arms or be shot. According to their habit, our men began negotiations. Suddenly there was heard a German command, 'Schiessen!' and the Red Guards began firing at the train. Our men jumped off and in five minutes all the machine guns were in their possession, the Russian Bolsheviki disarmed, and all the Germans and Magyars done away with."

Similar scenes occurred along the entire route. An understanding was reached with the Siberian Soviet whereby the Czecho-Slovaks east of Irkutsk were allowed to proceed to Vladivostok. But the trains stalled between the Volga and Irkutsk were not so fortunate. Their successful resistance to the efforts of the Red Guards to disarm them and turn them back to Russia provoked the hostility of the Moscow authorities, who proclaimed a mobilization against them and arrested their delegates. Nevertheless the Czecho-Slovaks continued to seek an understanding with the Bolshevist government. But meanwhile the tale of their stand reverberated throughout the world. The relations between the Allies and Moscow were strained. The armies of the former were now under the supreme command of General Foch, and the

Czecho-Slovak army was subject to the orders of the French High Command. In the latter part of June, 1918, an order went out from Paris to the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia, instructing them to turn back and occupy all the Great Siberian Railroad and hold the cities along the Volga against the Bolsheviki. It was not to the taste of the Czecho-Slovaks to fight the Russians, but orders were orders. They carried out a series of brilliant military moves, which won for them complete recognition by the Allies and the United States of their national aims.

On October 18, 1918, Czecho-Slovakia declared its independence and on November 14 a National Assembly met in Prague and proclaimed the establishment of a Czecho-Slovak Republic. Thomas G. Masaryk, then in the United States, was unanimously acclaimed as the first President of the Republic. A provisional government was formed, headed by Dr. Karel Kramarz, a veteran fighter for Czecho-Slovak nationalism, numbering eighteen members, six of whom were Socialists. According to a statement made by Premier Kramarz in December to a delegation representing so-called German Bohemia, which had been occupied by Czecho-Slovak troops, the Allies had signed an agreement by which the entire country claimed by the Czecho-Slovaks was to belong to the new state, exempting it from the jurisdiction of the Peace Conference. The German minority in Bohemia

is very considerable, and claims the right of establishing its own autonomous government, with the capital at Reichenberg, fifty-eight miles northeast of Prague. Asked by a correspondent how the Czecho-Slovaks would solve their internal German problem, President Masaryk replied:

"After all, what does the whole matter come down to? Language and politics. First, we shall give them (the German Bohemians) their own schools, conducted in German. How many German-speaking inhabitants must there be in any one district before a German school shall be opened there? Well, the general feeling is that any district which can furnish forty German pupils is entitled to a German school. Who shall pay the schools? Shall the Czecho-Slovak communities pay for theirs and the Germans for theirs? Or shall the state pay for all the schools by general taxation? I am in favor of the latter method. It will be more just to those German-speaking communities which are small and therefore less able to bear the expense of a school.

"From the schools let us proceed to the courts. These shall be bilingual throughout. What more can the Germans want? Then there is the political constitution. Germans, as Germans, will be able to vote for their own representatives in parliament. That is to say, there will be absolute minority recognition in every respect."

It remains to be seen whether President Mas-

aryk's policy will provide a solution for the foreign national minorities in the newly erected states. Bohemia's problem is typical of the difficulties confronting most of the other liberated nationalities. If it fails in Czecho-Slovakia, the idea of setting up permanent peace in Europe through a settlement of the various national claims is bankrupt, entailing the bankruptcy of the institution of political nationalism. Czecho-Slovakia is the most civilized, as well as the most tolerant of all the resurrected nations. Thomas G. Masaryk is undoubtedly the most gifted exponent of the cause of the small nationalities in the world. He is second to none among the European statesmen in knowledge and understanding of international affairs.

Born on March 6, 1850, of a poor family in Moravia, Thomas Masaryk began his career in life as an apprentice to a blacksmith, but succeeded in entering high school and making his way through the University of Vienna, where he became, in 1879, instructor in philosophy. Three years later he was appointed professor at the Prague University. In 1891 Masaryk was elected deputy to the Reichsrat, but resigned two years later to formulate a practical national problem for the Czechs. He founded the Realist party, which entertained no illusions as to the nature of the Habsburgs. He became known throughout Europe by his great works on Czech national questions and history, on

Marxism, on Russia, and other subjects. In 1907 he was re-elected deputy to the Vienna Parliament, waging since then relentless warfare against the Austro-Hungarian bureaucracies.

"A man of great learning and well posted in all contemporary ideas and movements, whether philosophical, literary, political or social," writes of Masaryk one of his countrymen, "he began to facilitate the spread of all such movements in Bohemia. . . . University professor, philosopher, writer, publicist, journalist, his eyes were always turned to the practical side of things and to the everyday problems of national life. He founded reviews and libraries, encouraged the publication of foreign works and contributed largely to the knowledge of all other European nations. It was under his auspices that Russian and French literature penetrated to Bohemia, and that the masterpieces of English literature became familiar to the Czechs. . . . He thus influenced the whole youth of Bohemia, and his ideas spread also among the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Ruthenes. Masaryk, in fact, carried on the glorious tradition of the great Czech patriots of the nineteenth century, 'the national awakeners,' and was himself the last of them. With him begins a new phase in the history of the Czech people, which from now on takes its place side by side with the other European nations in virtue of its intellectual, moral, and material development."

The ethnographic boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and Albania. The section between Trieste and Pola is Italian in population.

II

JUGOSLAVIA

Jugoslavia is the land of the Southern Slavs. The word "jug" in Slavic means "south." The Jugoslavs and the Southern Slavs are therefore synonymous terms. Racially the Jugoslavs include the Bulgars, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Politically, however, the Bulgars have dissociated themselves from the Southern Slavs. Jugoslavia in its current usage is therefore primarily a political term, applied to the territory inhabited by Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

This territory is a huge block nearly two hundred miles wide, bounded on the west by Italy and the Adriatic Sea; on the north by Austria and Hungary; on the east by Rumania and Bulgaria; and on the south by Greece and Albania. It comprises Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia, Carniola, and sections of Istria, Goritzia, Styria, Carinthia, Baranya, Backa and the Banat. All of these, except the first two, were provinces of Austria and Hungary before the outbreak of the World War. The population of entire Jugoslavia exceeds twelve

million, more than a third of which falls to Serbia and Montenegro.

The Slovenes, the least numerous of the Jugoslavs, numbering only about a million and a half, inhabit the northwestern end of the country, surrounded by the Italians to the west and the Austrians to the north. The Croats occupy the central regions of Jugoslavia, and the Serbs and Montenegrins are at the extreme south and east. While the language of the Croats and Serbs is nearly identical, that of the Slovenes is a distinct dialect. These linguistic differences are undoubtedly the result of the forced estrangement of the various elements of the Jugoslav race in the course of centuries of struggle and slavery.

In their early history, the Jugoslavs appear as one people. Fifteen centuries ago they crossed from the Carpathian ranges and established themselves in their present homeland, under the ægis of Byzantium. A historian of the seventh century tells of a number of Slavs taken prisoner on the Danube by the soldiers of the Byzantine Emperor Mavricius (582-602), and describes them as tall, broad-shouldered men, armed only with pikes, and in appearance quite harmless and good-natured. In reply to questions as to their identity they said: "We are Slavs, coming from the far-off sea. We do not know steel or arms, we graze our herds, make music with our pipes and do not harm anyone."

The Slovenes were subjugated during the reign of Charlemagne, toward the end of the eighth century, by German lords, who, however, oppressed them so severely that they revolted. Out of this rebellion sprang the first Jugoslav state. Under the leadership of one of their chiefs, Ludevit Posavsai, the Slovenes formed a powerful kingdom. This was the first and only time in the life of the Jugoslavs that all of their elements were united in one state. The Slovenian kingdom soon succumbed to its mighty neighbors. The Croats, however, evolved an independent state of their own in the ninth century. Toward the end of the tenth century it became impoverished as a result of participation in the wars that raged in Europe at that time. In 1102, at the extinction of the Croatian dynasty, the Hungarian king was elected to the throne of Croatia. Since then it has been part of Hungary and later the Dual Monarchy. Croatia remained for centuries an autonomous state, as the Hungarian kings, upon their accession to the throne, would also be crowned as kings of Croatia. This practice continued till the Croat resistance to the Magyar domination weakened.

An important element of division was introduced among the Jugoslavs in the eleventh century, when the Christian Church split into the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic branches. The southeastern Jugoslavs came under the in-

fluence of the first, while the northwestern Jugoslavs fell under the domination of Rome. The result was that the two churches were established in Jugoslavia. The Greek Orthodox elements became known as Serbs, while the Roman Catholics were called Croats and Slovenes.

Up to the twelfth century the Serbs remained in their tribal state, not infrequently falling victims to their strong Bulgarian brothers. When the Bulgarian empire of the ninth and tenth centuries collapsed, the Serbs paid tribute to Byzantium. In 1159, under the leadership of their first national figure, Stephen Nemanja, the Serbs constituted themselves into an independent state, comprising parts of Dalmatia and Montenegro. It was during the reign of Stephen Nemanja's son that Serbia finally identified herself with the Eastern Church.

Serbia rose to the zenith of her power in the fourteenth century under the rule of Stephen Dushan, a great general, reformer and statesman. During his reign Serbia waged thirteen campaigns against Byzantium. He extended his dominions as far as the Gulf of Corinth in the south and Adrianople in the east. Louis the Great, of Hungary, found himself menaced by Dushan and began a war against Serbia. He was defeated and lost some of his Jugoslav possessions, including Bosnia, inhabited by Croats. Dushan, however, did not aim to consolidate all the Jugoslavs under his

scepter. His eyes were on Constantinople. In 1356 he captured Adrianople. But he died before his armies reached the Byzantine capital. His vast kingdom immediately crumbled. Bosnia soon reverted to Louis the Great, who sought to win her favor by bestowing the royal title on her Ban, or chief. After the death of Louis the Great, Bosnia attained complete independence and a powerful position under Stephen Tvrtko, who styled himself "King of the Serbs and of Bosnia and the Coastland."

Meanwhile a terrible foe appeared in the east. The Turks had invaded Europe. A Serbian army which went out to meet them was defeated in 1371. The Turks continued their conquests of the Balkans, capturing Nish in 1386, and exacting an indemnity from the Serbian Tsar. The menace of the Ottoman hordes did not, however, cause the Christian states to abandon their own quarrels and present a united front to the Moslem hosts. Even Tvrtko of Bosnia did not realize in time the meaning of the Turkish danger, and continued his favorite policy of consolidating all the Jugoslav dominions in the north until it was too late.

The Turks were ready for a tremendous drive into Europe. The Serbs were at the gate of Central Europe and against them the Ottoman Sultan, Murat, directed his vast armies. The crisis came in 1389. The Serbian Tsar, Lazar, realized the acute situation and made a desperate appeal to

all the Jugoslav chiefs and princes to come to his support. King Tvrtko, of Bosnia, was among those who heeded the call of Serbia. On the plain of Kosovo, the "Field of Blackbirds," the two contending forces met. On one side were the hordes of Moslems; on the other, the Jugoslav kings, chiefs, nobles and soldiers. Here was fought, on June 15th, 1389, one of the bloodiest battles in history. Tsar Lazar and the flower of Serbian manhood went down in the contest. The Turkish Sultan Murat was also slain on the battlefield. But the victory was Turkish and Serbia was crushed and her independence slowly extinguished. How important the Battle of Kosovo was considered by the Western world can be seen from the fact that its issue was awaited impatiently in Paris. The records of the Church of Notre Dame show that a false report reached Paris of Serbian victory, and a solemn Te Deum was sung on the occasion.

The downfall of Serbia was followed by the collapse of the other Jugoslav state—Bosnia. King Tvrtko died in 1391, after gaining possession of the Dalmatian coast from Cattaro to Zara. Soon after his death the Republic of Venice, then a great maritime power, sought to establish itself in Dalmatia. By 1420 practically the entire Dalmatian coast, excepting the small Republic of Ragusa, had passed into the possession of Venice. In 1440 the Turks subjugated Bosnia. In 1459 Mo-

hammed II destroyed the last remnants of Serbian independence, in 1463 he completely crushed Bosnia, and in 1476 Herzegovina. These Jugoslav lands remained under Turkish rule for three centuries. Only two little principalities retained their independence. One was impregnable Montenegro, the embodiment of the fighting spirit of the race. The other was the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), which continued to exist till the days of Napoleon as a cultural center, in which Jugoslav civilization attained its greatest heights.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century large numbers of Serbians migrated to South Hungary, to escape the Turkish oppression. According to a statement made by King Matthias of Hungary in a letter to the Pope, in 1483, about two hundred thousand Serbians had immigrated to his country in the preceding four years. The Turks were now menacing Hungary. In 1526 they were met by Louis II, at the head of a Hungarian army. So sure was he of victory over the invaders that he did not desire his dominion, Croatia, to share in the glory of the battle. The Turks, however, were the victors. King Louis was slain, his army annihilated, his country invaded. On January 1, 1527, the Croatian diet elected Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, of the Habsburgs, to the Croatian throne. Ferdinand had been elected previously to the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones, thus founding the Habsburg empire.

In the course of the sixteenth century the Turks penetrated into Croatian territory, after conquering even those South Hungarian provinces which were populated by Serbian immigrants. But while in Bulgaria and Bosnia they impressed themselves deeply on the national character, in Serbo-Croatian territory they left no strong marks. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Western European Powers allied themselves to stem the advance of the Turks and push them back. Beginning with 1683, when the Turks besieged Vienna, the tide turned for the Moslems. It was John Sobieski of Poland who sealed the fate of the Turks by his timely aid. Since then the Turkish wave has been receding toward Asia. Austria was saved and Hungary freed from the invaders in 1683. The Habsburgs, in their subsequent campaigns against the Turks, appealed to the Serbians of South Hungary to rise against the Ottoman government. The Serbians met in a national assembly and demanded in return that Austria recognize the autonomy of their church, headed by their Patriarch. Emperor Leopold I accepted the Serbian conditions. The rights thus granted to the Serbians were proclaimed by the Austrian court on August 31st, 1690, and assured to them religious and national autonomy. Thanks to the Jesuit influences at Vienna these pledges were never fully carried into effect. In the early years of the eighteenth century the Magyars revolted, under

Rakoczy II, against Austrian domination. The Serbians of South Hungary were invited to join the rebellion, but remained loyal to the Habsburgs. They lost about 100,000 men in their struggle against the Magyars, and materially assisted the Habsburgs to maintain their position. Although this brought forth, in 1706 and in subsequent years, confirmations by Austria of the Serbians' autonomous rights, these were not realized. In 1735 the Serbs revolted, but were promptly suppressed and their rights limited even further.

The result of this was an extensive emigration of Serbians from South Hungary. In 1751-53 many thousands of them left the Habsburg dominions. The Austrian government sought to stop this movement by creating, in 1752, a commission for the protection of Serbian interests in Austria, which was abolished twenty-five years later. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Austrian Emperor, Joseph II, inaugurated a policy of centralization, which aroused Hungary's bitter opposition. The latter was encouraged by Austria's reverses in 1790 to insist on guarantees of Magyar national rights, demanding the suppression of the national privileges of the Serbians living in South Hungary. The Habsburgs proceeded to crystallize Serbian sentiment against the Magyars, using it as a weapon against them.

While this struggle of the Serbs—the Orthodox Jugoslavs—went on from generation to genera-

tion, their Catholic brethren—the Croats—had grown almost barren of national feeling in the course of their domination by the Catholic Magyars. It can thus be seen that it was the Greek Orthodox Church that kept alive Serbian nationalism. However, with the nineteenth century, a new era dawned upon the Jugoslav people. In 1805 the Croatians began to manifest organized opposition to the Hungarians who sought to Magyarize the country. This national feeling among the Jugoslavs gained tremendous impetus with the rise of Napoleon, who shook the Austrian empire to its foundations. He conquered Dalmatia, which had come into the possession of Austria after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, and joined it with part of Croatia, and Istria, Goritzia, Carinthia and Carniola under the name of the Kingdom of Illyria. "This kingdom of Illyria was the first purely Southern Slav state since the ninth century," writes Vladislav R. Savic, "in which all three branches of the race—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—were united under one administration." Napoleon added to Illyria the Republic of Ragusa in 1808. His genius perceived clearly the vital import of the land of the Jugoslavs. "Illyria is the guard set before the gates of Vienna," he said.

There followed a brief but intensely productive period of life for the Southern Slavs. "Under the enlightened, if despotic, rule of Marshal Marmont," observes R. W. Seton-Watson, "the long

stagnation of the Middle Ages was replaced by feverish activity in every branch of life. Administration and justice were reorganized, the Code Napoleon superseding the effete mediæval codes; schools, primary and secondary, commercial and agricultural, sprang up in every direction: the first Croat and Slovene newspapers appeared: the old Guild System was reformed and commercial restrictions removed; peasant proprietary was introduced; reafforestation was begun, and splendid roads were constructed which are still the admiration of every tourist. Official business was conducted in French and Croatian, with the addition of Italian along the coast."

In 1804 Serbia, still under Turkish domination, made an attempt to liberate itself under the leadership of Karageorge. The Serbs were joined by thousands of their brethren from Austria and Hungary, and for several years fought the Turks successfully. In 1813 the Serbian insurrection was crushed, but came to life again two years later, and wrested from the Ottoman government recognition of an autonomous principality formed of a part of the Old Serbia. In the same year the Kingdom of Illyria came to grief, but with the downfall of Napoleon his ideas of Jugoslav unity did not die out, and an Illyrian movement came into existence. Its originator and leader was Ljudevit Gaj, and he played a great rôle in arousing Jugoslav nationalism. He adapted the Croa-

tian dialect to the Serbian, thus creating a common literary tongue for the larger part of the Jugoslav people.

The rise of Magyar nationalism under the Habsburgs made the lot of the Croats and Serbs doubly oppressive. In 1825 the Magyars were allowed to convoke their diet, which formulated a policy of Magyarization for Hungary, without regard to the national rights of Croatia and Slavonia. To the Magyar nationalists the Croats declared: "We are resolved not to degenerate from our fathers and will preserve our nationality at all costs and with every possible means. Our rights of local government can never be the subject of negotiations, our internal administration is not within the jurisdiction of the estates of Hungary, and we protest most solemnly against all innovations." But the Magyars, while continuously struggling to obtain recognition of their autonomy from the Habsburgs, encroached upon the Slavs that inhabited Greater Hungary, imposing upon them the Magyar tongue and even interfering with the Serbian Church.

The great revolutionary year of 1848 stirred the Serbs of Hungary profoundly. They formulated a series of demands and delegated several leaders to present them to the Magyars. In April the deputation had an audience with Kossuth, the great Magyar statesman. It was an historic audience. The Serbs, led by Alexander Kostic, claimed

their right to be regarded as a nation. What followed is thus set down by R. W. Seton-Watson:

"What do you understand by a 'nation'?" inquired Kossuth.

"A race which possesses its own language, customs and culture," was the Serb reply, "and enough self-consciousness to preserve them."

"A nation must also have its own government," objected Kossuth.

"We do not go so far," Kostic explained; "one nation can live under several different governments, and again several nations can form a single state."

When one of the younger members of the deputation, in reply to a statement by Kossuth that Hungary must be Magyarized, said that the Serbs would be compelled to seek justice elsewhere, the deputation was dismissed with the striking phrase: "The sword must decide." These words of Kossuth were the signal for a bitter racial struggle, which developed in 1848. The Serbians of Southern Hungary, who were Orthodox, and the Catholic Croats now forgot all their religious differences and united in one cause. In June the Croatian diet arrived at an agreement with the Serbian assembly which met at Karlovci and which had demanded the creation of a separate principality embracing the South Hungarian provinces of Syrmia, Baranya, Backa and the Banat. This rapprochement between the two Jugoslav

sections of opposite religious faith was a great national triumph. It showed that the idea of Jugoslav unity was making big progress.

The Magyar movement became a menace to the Habsburgs. Vienna therefore decided to make use of the Serbo-Croats in order to subdue the Magyars. To win the favor of the Jugoslavs the Austrian rulers granted them reforms and appointed Baron Jelacic to the office of Ban of Croatia, allowing him to command an army against the Magyars. The latter, however, repulsed the Jelacic force, and soon afterwards launched their famous revolutionary movement of 1848-49. The first victims of the Magyar revolution were the Serbs of South Hungary. The Habsburgs became uneasy and hastened to desert Croatia and Slavonia and conciliate the Magyars. Jelacic, having served his purpose as commander of the Serbo-Croatian forces, which helped Austria in the war that had meanwhile been declared by Italy, was now deprived of his offices as Ban and General. But it was too late for the Habsburgs to escape the Magyar wrath. The revolution had gained much momentum. The Magyars attacked the Serbs and Croats and forced a union between the latter and the Austrians. The Habsburgs again favored the Jugoslavs with reforms and privileges. A Serbian principality was created in South Hungary after

the Magyar revolution had been bloodily suppressed.

Beginning with 1849 Austria was in the grip of a reactionary wave. The Serbian principality was virtually abolished when the Emperor had assumed the title of its chief. Germanization became the leading policy of the Habsburg rule. This policy exploded in 1859, when Austria suffered a defeat at the hands of Italy and found it necessary to strengthen the empire by winning the support of the subject nationalities. But no definite plan was elaborated and followed by the Vienna government for several years. It was only in 1867, after the disastrous war of the preceding year against Prussia, that Emperor Francis Joseph embarked upon the definite but fatal system of Dualism. By the famous agreement of February, 1867, the Magyars were raised to the position of a sovereign nation, and Austria-Hungary was created. It was fatal because the Slavic races, the Poles, Ruthenes, Czechs and Serbo-Croats, were not admitted into the union. The two dominant peoples in the empire were the Germans and the Magyars, and thus was the stage set for the explosion that occurred half a century afterward. The Magyars, having gained ascendancy, proceeded to conciliate Croatia, and an agreement was reached with her in 1868 which, although restricting Croatian autonomy and territory, still allowed her self-government.

Meanwhile Serbia was gradually emerging from Turkish domination and developing into an independent state. In 1815, after the failure of Karageorge's insurrection, Milos Obrenovic, another Serbian leader, raised the banner of rebellion and succeeded in becoming the ruler of Serbia under the Ottoman ægis. The Sultan's government was conciliated when Karageorge was slain by the party of Obrenovic and his head sent to the Sublime Porte. This bloody deed of treachery marked the beginning of the bitter dynastic feud between the families of the two chiefs. Milos, however, was recognized by Turkey as the Prince of Serbia only in 1830. Although a despot by nature, he was compelled to grant a constitution with a national assembly in 1835. Thanks to the interference of foreign powers, especially Russia, in Serbian affairs, Milos abdicated and went into exile in 1839. He was succeeded by his son Michael, who was also forced to become an exile because of foreign intrigue. The next ruler of Serbia was a son of the slain Karageorge, Alexander. He was deposed in 1858 by the assembly because of his anti-Russian policy, and the old Milos, still alive and in exile, was recalled. He died in 1860, to be succeeded again by his son Michael. He introduced many reforms and remodeled the Constitution, and succeeded, with the aid of the great powers, in having the Turkish garrisons withdrawn from his domain. On May 6th,

1867, Serbian soil was clear of the Turk. Prince Michael looked ahead to the time when all the Jugoslavs would be united and slowly worked for the consummation of this aim. But in June, 1868, he was assassinated by followers of the Karageorge dynasty. After a regency, his cousin Milan, aged fourteen at his death, became the ruler of Serbia. During his rule Bosnia and Herzegovina, populated by Serbo-Croats, but dominated by Moslem nobles, revolted against the Turkish government. At the end of a year of hesitation and vacillation Prince Milan, together with Montenegro, declared, in 1876, war on the Turks in support of the Jugoslavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, promulgating a manifesto which called for the union of the Southern Slavs in one great Serbian state.

It was at this juncture that the policy which reached its culminating point in July, 1914, was inaugurated by the Habsburgs. Austria and Hungary considered Serbia's aspiration to Bosnia and Herzegovina a menace to themselves. Thanks to Russia's intervention in 1877, Turkey was beaten. But Serbia did not get much satisfaction either from Russia or from Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. Great Britain had recognized secretly Austria-Hungary's title to Bosnia on June 6th, 1878. Russia was too much interested in Bulgaria and other things to justify the Serbian hopes. The result was that, although Serbia and

Montenegro were augmented by the addition of some territory to each, Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed by the Congress of Berlin under Austro-Hungarian control, which took the form of the occupation of the two provinces, still nominally Turkish, by Austrian authorities. For a time Serbia was torn between hatred for Russia and Austria-Hungary. The latter knew how to utilize this condition. It encouraged Prince Milan to assume the royal title, which he did, but the Serbian kingdom under him was greatly discredited. He wrecked the larger Jugoslav aims by falling upon Bulgaria and waging a war which ended disastrously for Serbia. He finally gained the enmity of his people to such an extent that he found himself constrained to abdicate in 1889 in favor of his son Alexander, who was a minor. A regency took over the supreme power. King Alexander was an arbitrary and capricious ruler and set up practically the entire nation against him by marrying a former mistress of his. After a reign of immoral conduct and general provocation, King Alexander and his wife were assassinated during the night of June 10th, 1903, by a group of officers. A grandson of Karageorgé, Peter, was now elected to the Serbian throne and instituted an exemplary constitutional government.

During the latter part of King Milan's life and the disgraceful reign of his son, Alexander, Croa-

tia was smarting under an oppressive Magyar yoke. After the Bosnian rebellion of 1876 the relations between the Magyars and Croats again became acute. The Croats wanted Bosnia joined to Croatia under Habsburg rule; the Magyars sought to add it to Hungary. Premier Tisza, of Hungary, suspended temporarily the Croatian constitution in 1883, when the Croats made an effort to revolt, and appointed as Ban of Croatia his own cousin, Count Khuen-Héderváry, whose twenty years' rule formed, according to R. W. Seton-Watson, "a most humiliating epoch in Southern Slav history. . . . He was probably the most effectively corrupt satrap of a subject province whom the nineteenth century has produced, while in 1910, as Hungarian Premier, he organized electoral corruption on a scale hitherto unsurpassed, not merely in Hungary, but probably in modern Europe. . . . Above all, Khuen's system depended upon playing off Croat and Serb against each other, upon inflaming the petty passions and religious bigotry of Catholic and Orthodox."

In 1905, when Austria, under the influence of the Russian Revolution, was compelled to grant universal suffrage, the Serbo-Croats found their opportunity. They formed a coalition, both in Croatia and Dalmatia, and triumphed in 1906, issuing a series of demands for reforms and liberties. After that developments followed quickly.

Serbia and Montenegro became the centers of active agitation for Jugoslav unity. The revolutionary elements in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia were even more intensely at work on the propagation of the Jugoslav national idea. The Austrians and the Magyars by their policy of persecution and intolerance helped the spread of the movement. The Habsburg government did not stop at forgery in order to be able to throw accusations at both its own Jugoslav subjects and the Serbian government. Austria-Hungary decided to formally annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, and considered it necessary to make out a strong case by proving that the Serbian king and his counselors were plotting together with the Croats against the Vienna government. A number of documents were forged to back up the accusations and were sufficient to justify Austria in annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina. This provoked the great crisis of 1908, when a world war seemed inevitable, as the Russian government considered Austria-Hungary's act a slap in the face. However, when Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany openly placed himself on the side of Austria, Russia backed out, suffering diplomatic humiliation. The two provinces remained Austrian, although in the sensational trial that followed the documents produced by the Austrian government against Serbia were proven forgeries. Professor Masaryk, the Czecho-Slovak leader, was able to demonstrate later that

the documents were concocted by Count Forgach, the Austro-Hungarian minister to Serbia.

These methods of the Vienna politicians only solidified the Jugoslav national sentiment. In 1912, during the war of the Balkan League against Turkey, the Serbs amazed the world by their high military ability. Serbia, it has been said, avenged Kosovo in that year and revealed a spirit that caught the entire Southern Slav race in a wave of enthusiasm. Serbia's achievements gave a greater impetus to Jugoslav nationalism than generations of literary and political propaganda. Naturally, Austria-Hungary became uneasy at the sudden manifestation of Serbian power and proceeded to repress Jugoslav activities within its domains, simultaneously plotting to disrupt the Balkan League and set Bulgaria against Serbia. This Vienna accomplished. The second Balkan war robbed the Serbs of access to the sea and embittered further their attitude toward Austria-Hungary.

In 1914, then, the Jugoslav movement had reached its highest mark. Russia had since 1908 made great strides in the reorganization of her army. Austria-Hungary was in a mood to crush the Southern Slav menace, the sponsor of which was Serbia in the eyes of Vienna. Serbia, however embittered, cannot be said to have been physically fit for an arduous war after the two wars of 1912 and 1913, which had fairly exhausted

her. Still the inflammatory material was there. German-Magyar nationalism had in the course of a century cultivated Jugoslav nationalism by oppression and persecution. Now it blossomed forth and was desperate enough to fight for its national rights. The clash might have been postponed for a time, but it could hardly have been avoided. The signal was given when Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary was assassinated at Sarajevo, Bosnia, by a youth named Princip. The full story of the criminal act has not yet been revealed. It has been charged, not without some reason, that the assassin was a protégé of certain Austro-Hungarian politicians. At least it is now established that the murdered archduke was inclined toward a radical solution of the Jugoslav problem, and that he had even favored the reconstruction of the Dual Monarchy on a federal basis. He was pronouncedly anti-Magyar, that is certain, and it is this that adds an element of mystery to the assassination. What followed is but too well known. Vienna took Serbia to task, holding her government responsible for the assassination and the revolutionary movement in the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslav provinces. The famous ultimatum was despatched to Serbia, plainly aiming at the destruction of Serbian sovereignty. That Serbia went as far as it could possibly have been expected from a sovereign nation in her reply to Vienna is clearly written in the records of the

Great War. Jugoslav nationalism was opposed by German and Magyar nationalism, and only by the self-negation of one party could a collision have been averted. But that would have been a negation of the very soul and purpose of the power that is modern nationalism.

What happened to the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes within the boundaries of the Dual Monarchy after the outbreak of the World War remains of the least known pages of atrocities and persecutions recorded in Europe and the Near East between 1914 and 1918. Perhaps it was because public opinion considered the Jugoslavs partly responsible for the universal conflict that little attention was paid to their condition. According to a speech delivered on October 19th, 1917, in the Austrian Parliament by a noted Croat poet and politician, who had himself been imprisoned during the early part of the war, the Jugoslavs suffered hideous persecution.

"Upon the outbreak of the war a veritable tempest of destruction was let loose upon all Jugoslav patriots. . . . All the nationally enlightened, responsible and honest elements of the male population were arrested, interned, imprisoned, ruined, condemned to death, executed; the very young and the aged were fated to die of hunger, the remainder were terrorized, demoralized and dishonored. . . .

"When, after three months' imprisonment at

Maribor (Marburg), I was for the first time brought before a judge, he said to me: 'I do not know what the accusation is against you, and this you will readily understand when I tell you that in Dalmatia, Istria and Carniola alone we have arrested more than five thousand persons.' You can now imagine how many have been arrested in Bosnia, in Herzegovina, in Slavonia and in the south of Hungary!''

The executions and atrocities to which the Jugoslavs were subjected only further exasperated them and consolidated their national consciousness. A Jugoslav committee was formed abroad, aiming at the constitution of all the Jugoslav provinces of Austria-Hungary into a separate state, preferably in union with Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia now openly espoused the cause of Jugoslav unity. On July 20th, 1917, the Serbian government and the Jugoslavs of Austria-Hungary arrived at a formal agreement, known as the Declaration of Corfu. It expressed the aspirations of all the Jugoslav peoples to become one nation. Specifically, it provided that the future Jugoslavia should be a kingdom under the rule of the Serbian dynasty, while leaving to an all-Jugoslav constituent assembly to promulgate a constitution as ''the beginning and end of all authority.'' When Austria-Hungary collapsed and the Jugoslavs suddenly found themselves the masters of their destinies, the republican sentiments of the

former Austro-Hungarian subjects asserted themselves and they sought to make the united Jugoslavia a republic. Friction thus developed between the two parties to the declaration of Corfu. "The difference between the two views," said Dr. Hinko Hinkovic, one of the signators of the pact and a recognized leader of the Croats, "may be shortly defined as the scheme of Greater Serbia and Jugoslavia. According to Mr. Pasic, the Serbian Premier, the Jugoslavs outside of Serbia ought to enter this kingdom. Meanwhile the overwhelming majority of our nation most energetically refuses any idea of a Greater Serbia, as well as of a Greater Croatia. What we desire is to establish a new state which all parts of the nation should enter on absolutely equal terms, reserving to the constituent assembly the sovereign decision of the whole constitution, including, of course, the question of a republic or a monarchy."

Another element of friction was introduced by Montenegro, whose king, Nicholas, was declared deposed by the partisans of the idea of a Greater Serbia. The king, who is a most enlightened man, persisted in clinging to the throne, seeing no reason why he should abdicate in favor of King Peter of Serbia. In a proclamation which he issued in November, 1918, he said: "I solemnly declare that my dear Montenegro should become a constituent part of Jugoslavia, and enter in the Jugoslav community frankly and honestly, as it

has struggled and suffered for it. I desire that we unite ourselves as brothers in a confederate Jugoslavia in which each state will retain its rights, institutions, religion and customs and in which no one will dare pretend to supremacy, but where all will be equal."

In December, 1918, the representatives of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and other parts of the fallen Dual Monarchy, arrived at an understanding with the Serbian government and entered an all-national provisional ministry. However, that was not a final solution of the internal problems confronting the new state. Before Jugoslavia is solidly established it would be necessary to reconcile the republicanism of the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs with the imperialistic aspirations of the Serbian dynasty; and the differences between the Serbian and Montenegrin monarchies would have to be composed. Jugoslavia might become one nation governed on a federal basis, being in effect a United States of Jugoslavia; national unity might be achieved under the scepter of the Karageorge house of Serbia. The outcome will, to a very large extent, depend on the solution of the external problems facing Jugoslavia.

By far the most important of these is the conflict between the territorial aims of the Italian government and the national rights of Jugoslavia. By the secret treaty concluded in London on April 26th, 1915, between Italy on one side and

Great Britain, France and Russia on the other, the former was to receive in reward for her entrance into the war on the side of the Allies, among other things, the city of Trieste and its surroundings; the provinces of Goritzia and Gradisko; the whole of Istria and a number of islands in the vicinity; the province of Dalmatia and all the neighboring islands. The Adriatic is virtually turned into an Italian lake, and Jugoslavia is deprived of much territory inhabited by Slavs. Italy's claim to Dalmatia is based on its conquest and possession by the Venetian Republic for several centuries, as well as her need of harbors. Sir Arthur Evans, a Britisher with an intimate knowledge of the Adriatic problem, wrote in April, 1917, long before the publication of the secret treaty and the crumbling of Russia under the Central Powers, with regard to the Italian claims, as follows:

"The legitimate need of Italy for protection on her eastern maritime flank is well recognized and must certainly outweigh any pedantic application of the principle of nationality. No peace could be satisfactory for her, nor indeed for the Allies, that did not place in her hands not only such purely Italian territories as the western strip of Istria from Trieste to the Arsa—the territorial boundary of Italy from the days of Augustus onwards—but a series of key positions, including not only Pola, but the island and city of Lussin,

on the other side of the Quarnero, and Lissa, the key island of the Middle Adriatic, besides Valona at its mouth. Let every legitimate security be given her.

"But to endeavor to lay hold of Dalmatian or Croat territory en masse, more especially any mainland tract, would be, from the point of view of the true Italian interests, little short of 'mid-summer madness.' Having lived the better part of seven years on those shores and possessing a personal knowledge of the most out-of-the-way districts of the Interior, I can claim an exceptional right to speak on this question. Nearly 97 per cent. of the population is Slav. Even the infinitesimal minority is not in the true sense of the word Italian. The Province is the very focus of South Slav nationalism. An attempt of this kind would antagonize the whole Slavonic world and could only be the prelude to a new War of Liberation in the near future. Nay, more, it would do much to prejudice the real heritage of Latin civilization on the East Adriatic shores. . . ."

The conflict between the Jugoslavs and the Italian government assumed such bitterness that the former even went as far as denying the right of the latter to Trieste and Pola, basing their claim on the fact that the territory lying behind these ports is populated by Slavs. Ethnographically, this is to a great extent true. Although the strip of coast between Trieste and Pola, about twenty

miles wide, is predominantly Italian, the hinterland is indubitably Slav. Still the Italian claims here are generally conceded, because the two cities contain Italian majorities. Not so with Fiume, the outlet of Croatia and Slavonia. The majority of its population is Italian. Its immediate hinterland, however, is Jugoslav. Although it is not a natural port, an artificial harbor was built there at a tremendous expense. It forms another bone of contention which has already resulted in bloody warfare between the Jugoslavs and the Italians who, according to an account in *The New Europe,* of London, crossed the line of demarcation laid down in the armistice of October 31 and pressed on as far as the very suburbs of Laibach, the Slovene capital, following this movement up with a landing at Fiume on November 17. This provoked the Jugoslavs, and their National Council sent a note to the Allies and the United States, which read, in part, as follows:

"Though the Italians had assured the Serbian Army in Fiume that they would not occupy the town, they landed in the harbor as soon as the Serbs had by agreement withdrawn from the town area. The Italians occupied with military force all public buildings and offices and the railway station, and ignored the protests of the Entente representatives who were present. Communication by rail, post and telegraph between Fiume and Zagreb (capital of Croatia) was interrupted by

the Italian military. . . . The Jugoslav National Council repudiates all responsibility for the consequences which may result from these intolerable conditions."

Two days later the Council ordered the mobilization of five classes from 1895 to 1899, while the Serbian High Command despatched the Jugoslav Legions to Laibach "for the express purpose of defending the frontiers of the new state against Italy." The arrival of American troops in Trieste and Fiume averted immediate bloodshed.

Meanwhile differences had developed in the Italian government. Minister Bissolati resigned from the Cabinet as a protest against Italy's insistence on the terms of the secret treaty of April, 1915, and was understood to have the support of a large section of Italian public opinion. The Jugoslav-Italian conflict reached such a degree that M. R. Vesnitch, the Serbian Minister to France, officially made the following striking statement on January 4, 1919:

"Should the treaty secretly signed by England, France, Russia and Italy in 1915, whereby Italy was to come into possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the war, be confirmed by the coming Peace Conference, then Serbia would fight again, and fight to the finish. Serbia did not enter this war to become the vassal of any nation. She cannot agree to have Italy control the territory in question.

"Serbia goes to the conference believing that affairs will be directed there in accordance with the public announcements of the great powers, especially those of President Wilson. The position of Serbia and the Jugoslavs would be desperate if their hopes did not rest in the principles laid down by America. They would be desperate because certain of the great Allied powers, while announcing these principles, have entered into opposing conventions and understandings. Some of these understandings were directed against Serbia.

"Serbia is the only nation in Europe which has made no treaty of any kind with the Allies. She has marched on from the first with justice as her only weapon."

The statement contained in the last sentence is challenged by the Montenegrin king, by Hungary and by Albania. Sympathy for Jugoslav nationalism on the part of the American people ought not to blind them to its misdeeds. The machinations which brought about the illegal deposal of King Nicholas must be laid at the door of Serbia, while the refusal of France to allow him to return to Montenegro was the result of Jugoslav influences. As to South Hungary, where the Jugoslavs claim considerable territory, the principle of self-determination by plebiscite advocated by the Jugoslavs in their disputes with Italy should be equally applied here.

As regards Albania, both Serbia and Montenegro are the sinners. Both have acquired Albanian territory. In the past this could have been justified on the ground that the two little countries needed access to the sea. But with the disruption of Austria-Hungary and the creation of a united Jugoslavia this need is eliminated. Still there appears to be no disposition on the part of the Jugoslavs to return to Albania what is hers by indisputable right, perhaps because the Albanian people lack national cohesion and a strong national consciousness, which renders them helpless for the time being in the midst of the aggressive Greeks and Jugoslavs, but whose interests cannot be disregarded by those who, like President Wilson, seek to establish a relationship of amity and sympathy "among such states as those of the Balkans," instead of "the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue" under which they labored heretofore.

A united Jugoslavia, purged of all imperialism and founded on justice, would be broad-hearted enough to extend a brotherly hand to the free Bulgarian people, who are Jugoslav by origin. The Southern Slavs in the United States, according to Joseph Goricar, one of their leaders, want to see all the Jugoslavs, including the Bulgarians, united in a federation comprising a population of more than eighteen million. "They want to unite with Bulgaria," he adds, "to get away from the ancient

strife. They want a strong federal republic with a common army and navy, a common diplomacy, a republic in which each state will have the right to its own religion and language and its own cultural freedom." A Jugoslavia built on such foundations would endure, and would prove a bulwark of peace in Europe and a great force in civilization.

III

ALBANIA

Many races have come and gone in Europe. Mighty hordes from the East swept over it at various times and vanished in the course of history. But of the few original inhabitants of Europe, the true Europeans, there still remain the Albanians, populating a mountainous section of the Balkan Peninsula. The Albanians are the direct descendants of the Illyrians who lived in the south of Europe since the dawn of history.

Albania lies on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, where it is nearest to Italy, and is bounded by Montenegro on the north, Serbia and the Macedonian Slavs on the east, and Greece on the south. Albania's seacoast possesses splendid harbors, that of Valona, the "Gibraltar of the Adriatic," being especially important. Albania is a rugged country and its inhabitants are a rugged people. They speak a language of their own. The total number of Albanians is difficult to establish, as it is not clearly defined yet where the Albanians cease to predominate along their southern and northeastern boundaries. The maximum estimate

of Albania's population does not go beyond two and a half million.

The geographical situation of Albania is largely responsible for the history of its inhabitants. Driven into the mountain fastnesses by the waves of Eastern invaders, the Albanians resisted all efforts to assimilate them. Through centuries of struggle they maintained their language and customs, though not their political independence. The success with which the Albanians clung to their traditions appears most remarkable when it is considered that in the past three thousand years Albania had been invaded and ruled by the armies and authorities of ancient Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey. Albania's history has really been one uninterrupted series of epic fights for the preservation of its racial characteristics, as observed by an Albanian publicist.

With the arrival of the Turks in Europe, Albania was, after a fierce struggle, subjected by them and Mohammedanism was introduced into the country. Early in the fifteenth century the Turks, not quite sure yet of Albania's loyalty, sought to restrain it by seizing the four sons of the Albanian prince John Castriota as hostages. The youngest of these boys, George, named by the Turks Iskander Bey, and become known as Skanderbeg, was very gifted. He was educated at the court of Sultan Murat II, and became a brilliant

military leader. In 1443 the Turks were badly beaten in a battle with Ladislaw II, King of Hungary. The Albanian soul of Skanderbeg asserted itself and he resolved to return to his native country and restore its independence. He was received by his people with acclamation and named their prince. Then began one of the most phenomenal careers of the Middle Ages.

Skanderbeg first cleared his country of the Turkish garrisons and began a struggle against the Turks that is writ in the history of Europe in letters of glory. Every Ottoman army that was despatched against the Albanian chief was defeated in turn. He was appointed by Pope Pius II as Commander in Chief of all the Christian armies in Europe. In 1449, he disastrously beat a Turkish force of 100,000, under the personal command of Sultan Murat II, who was finally forced to return to his country, humiliated. The Sultan who succeeded Murat, Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, was powerless against the Albanians. Albania was invincible under Skanderbeg, who incidentally saved Europe from the ravages of the Asiatic invasion that threatened it in the fifteenth century. Skanderbeg died in 1467, "fighting the battle of European Christendom and civilization against barbarism and heathenism," according to the Reverend Noli, an Albanian leader in the United States. Henry

Wadsworth Longfellow sang as follows of Skanderbeg, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn":

> Anon from the Castle walls
> The Crescent Banner falls,
> And the crowd beholds instead,
> Like a portent in the sky,
> Iskander's banner fly,
> The Black Eagle with double head;
> And a shout ascends on high,
> For men's souls are tired of the Turks,
> And their wicked ways and works,
> That have made of Ak-Hissar
> A city of the plague;
> And the loud, exultant cry
> That echoes wide and far
> Is: "Long live Skanderbeg!"

Skanderbeg was not the first great military leader that Albania produced. As early as 1225 B. C., the Albanians had a fighting king named Hyllus. Alexander the Great is thought by some to have been Albanian. Pyrrhus, the greatest soldier of his time, was an Albanian. Many of the brilliant leaders of the armies of the various Balkan peoples were of Albanian blood. What the Albanians are is picturesquely shown by their native name. Shkipetars is what the Albanians call themselves. "Shkipetar" means "Son of the Mountain Eagle."

After the death of Skanderbeg the Turks resumed their efforts to dominate Albania. A considerable emigration occurred as a result of the Turkish policies. Large numbers of Albanians

migrated to Greece and South Italy, not wishing to bear the foreign yoke. There are nearly half a million Albanian descendants in Greece, who form now the principal cause for the strained Greco-Albanian relations. The Greeks claim these immigrants, inhabiting the so-called Northern Epirus, as their own nationals, but the Albanians insist that their brethren, in what they term Southern Albania, have never been Hellenized and that they still preserve their language and traditions.

Albania remained a part of the Turkish Empire up to 1912. And yet not all the Albanians became Mohammedans. A considerable minority belong to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. It is a significant reflection of the natural tolerance of the Albanian that the divergence in faith did not produce any internal strife. The Christians and Moslems intermarried freely, and both sections of the race maintained their national traditions. The world, however, was allowed to get mostly erroneous ideas about the Albanians. They were represented by their oppressors as a savage people, quarrelsome, barbaric, a race of brigands and robbers. They appeared quite different to close Western observers. Captain J. S. Barnes, R.F.C., in a paper that he read before the British Geographical Society said of the Albanians:

"The Albanian has many stirring qualities which make for success. He is brave, frugal, gen-

erous, independent, honest, as well as honorable, industrious, intelligent, artistic, and faithfully obedient to those whom he trusts and respects. If he is ignorant, diffident, superstitious, obstinate, conservative and lacking in self-control, these are defects due to his environment rather than innate in his character."

In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, when Turkey was trying to improve with the help of the Western powers the terms which Russia imposed upon her at San Stefano as a result of the war of 1877, Albania for the first time became an object of aggrandizement in the European game for the balance of power. Albania was of course considered as a portion of Turkey. The Congress carved out the Albanian town and district of Dulcigno and gave it to Montenegro. In the south the great powers extended the frontiers of Greece to the River Kalama, which empties into the channel of Corfu.

In both instances the partitioning of Albania took place regardless of any ethnic considerations. The leading Albanians suddenly realized that with the impending collapse of the Turkish Empire, Albania might cease to exist as a whole, even under foreign control, and pass in slices into the hands of several states. A national consciousness was aroused in them and took definite form in the establishment of the Albanian League which fiercely fought for the maintenance of Albania's

integrity. It was due to the determined protests of the Albanians that the original provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were not carried out fully in the south. There was even an attempt at a general rising among the Albanians, intended to throw off the Ottoman shackles and make Albania independent. However, the Turks were able to nip the plot in the bud and even promised to allow the Albanians an educational system of their own. These promises were never carried out. Nevertheless, many Albanians educated themselves in foreign schools, so as to be able to wage their fight for independence more effectively, in which they succeeded to a marked degree.

"The Albanian movement is a perfectly natural one," wrote Lord Goschen, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, in July, 1880, to Lord Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. "An ancient and distinctive race, as any by whom they are surrounded, they have seen the nationality of these races taken under the protection of various European powers and gratified in their aspirations for more independent existence. . . . They see the Eastern Question being solved on the principle of nationality and the Balkan Peninsula being gradually divided among various races. Meanwhile they see that they have not received similar treatment. Their nationality is ignored and territory inhabited by Albanians is handed over in the north to Montenegrins, to satisfy Mon-

tenegro, the protégé of Russia; and in the south to Greece, the protégé of England and France. Exchanges of territory are proposed, other difficulties arise, but it is still at the expense of Albania, and the Albanians are handed over to Slavs and Greeks without reference to nationality. . . ."

The Balkan War of 1912 placed Albania at the mercy of its neighbors, and it became the bone of contention of Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro. These four contemplated the full partition of Albania among themselves. The interests of Austria and Italy conflicted with the strengthening of these Balkan states at the expense of Albania, and they stepped in to urge the establishment of an independent Albanian state. During the winter of 1913, at the Conference of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers, held in London, Albania's claims to recognition as a separate national entity deserving sovereign existence were acknowledged and the decision was made to create an Albanian state. However, when the question of boundaries came up, the Serbs, Montenegrins and Greeks displayed an imperialistic attitude that carried with it bitter disillusionment to the Albanians, nearly a million of whom were torn away from their country and divided among their neighbors.

Although considerably reduced in size, Albania started out on its career of independence. Prince William of Wied, a relative of the Rumanian

queen, was appointed king of Albania. His rule was stormy and brief. He had several unfavorable factors to contend with. First came the dispute with Greece. The latter was ordered by the powers to withdraw its troops from South Albania, or Northern Epirus. She did so, but encouraged a movement among the so-called Epirots to establish autonomy in the province. The Great Powers failed to step in and settle the Albanian-Greek conflict.

In addition to the difficulties with Greece, there appeared on the scene the figure of Essad Pasha, who placed himself in command of the Ottoman forces in the town of Scutari which he surrendered to the Montenegrins, and started out to gain the favor of the Balkan States in order to obtain the leadership over Albania. Prince William of Wied got little encouragement from abroad upon his arrival in Albania. Had the powers that chose him lent their support to him, he would have succeeded in introducing law and order into the country. But they seemed to have forgotten Albania, and the result was that the Prince of Wied left Albania in disgust on the eve of the Great War.

In 1915 Albania was occupied by the Austrians and Bulgarians. The invaders set themselves to persecuting the Albanians, requisitioning supplies without consideration for the needs of the people and treating the natives with cruelty. When the Albanians protested in Vienna against the occu-

pation of their country, on the ground of their neutrality, they were answered by the forcible induction of many Albanians into the armies of the Central Powers. The Albanian colonies abroad, notably that in the United States, where there are fifty thousand Albanian immigrants, realized that the fate of their motherland was bound up with that of the Allied cause. They organized an Albanian contingent, with the permission of the British Government, to fight with the Allied armies.

In 1917 an Italian force landed in Albania, and occupied its southern half. The commander of the Italian Army of Occupation, Lieutenant-General Ferrero, on June 3rd, 1917, proclaimed the unity and independence of all Albania under the ægis and protection of the King of Italy. This proclamation caused a great sensation and much dissatisfaction in Allied countries, as it was taken to mean that Italy sought to annex Albania before the Peace Conference had convened. The Albanians, however, greeted the Italian occupation with enthusiasm, as Italy proclaimed her interest in a united Albania. To that extent they preferred unity under Italy rather than independence in one half of their country with the other half dismembered. That the Albanians would be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence, within their ethnical boundaries, may be seen from the statement of the Albanian leader, Javer Bey Ghi-

nokastra, made in reply to General Ferrero on the occasion of the anniversary of Italy's proclamation of Albanian autonomy. Thanking Italy in the name of his people he expressed his hope that the Albanian government would be set up soon, and added, amidst a great popular ovation:

"The Albanians do not want a small Moslem Albania, as some diplomats have planned in secret understandings, revealed lately, but a united Albania within her geographical, historical and racial frontiers. No statesman can decently claim at the next Peace Congress that our rights in the provinces of Kosovo, Northeastern Albania, and Chaneria, South Albania, are less sacred than the rights of France to Alsace-Lorraine."

The Albanians have made a special appeal to the United States to take an interest in their country. Mehmet Konitza, delegate of the American Pan-Albanian Federation "Vatra," writes: "America has given her moral support to Albania in years past by enabling her to have the only free schools that were not a pretext of foreign propaganda. . . . It is the unanimous desire of the Albanians to turn to America for help and ask her to send a commission for a period of five years to give the country time to bring into action all its organizing forces." The case for Albanian independence was laid before President Wilson by the Reverend Fan Noli on American Independence Day, 1918.

"I shall have one voice in the next Peace Congress and I shall use that voice in behalf of Albania," was the answer of President Wilson.

Albania's history and its ethnographical compactness are such as to make its case for sovereign existence perfectly legitimate. "Provided she is secure in the frontiers which are her due—for otherwise she runs the risk of being strangled at birth," wrote Captain J. S. Barnes, "Albania has no reason to despair of a prosperous, and even a brilliant future. . . . A strong, just and national government should soon give Albania her birthright to civilization. The material is there, strongly endowed; the resources are there, beyond doubt; she occupies an enviable geographical position with the making of good harbors on the narrowest portion of one of the most important waterways of the world; she lies across the path of what will one day be the quickest mail route from London to Suez, via Brindisi, Vlore, Janina, Kalabaka and the Piræus.

"The extent of her mineral resources is doubtful, beyond the rich bituminous deposits round Selintsa. But her future is none the less promising. The cultivation of the vine, the olive, tobacco, wheat, maize, hemp, flax, cotton, rive, valonia, the potato and fruits of every description, including the mulberry for the rearing of silkworms, will form the staple industries, complemented by the manufacture of milk products, to-

gether with sheep, horse and cattle rearing, afforestation and sea and lake fisheries. The list by no means exhausts what might be profitably undertaken for export. Poultry farming, bee farming and the cultivation of the beetroot should be added before compiling supplementary lists of minor and by-products. The manufacture of silk, cotton, wool, leather and tow would have at hand their raw materials of high quality; and power would be supplied by the control of the abundant rivers. In addition, pottery, weaving, iron, silver and leather work have a long history as local industries, which exploit the Albanians' delicate artistic sense, and are capable of considerable development. There are no grounds for pessimism in this quarter."

Grounds for pessimism, however, do exist in other quarters. Albania, although perfectly entitled to exist and develop as a nation, has not yet evolved a strong national consciousness, and is therefore unable to resist the encroachments of the Montenegrins, the Serbs, the Greeks and the Italians. Montenegro and Serbia both sought routes to the Adriatic through Albanian territory before 1914. The former was in possession of Dulcigno and strove to annex Scutari (Skodra). The latter was given by the powers the freedom of the port of Durazzo and the right to construct a railroad from Serbia through Albania to that harbor. The two nations have, however, with the

collapse of Austria-Hungary and the rise of a united Jugoslavia, plenty of accessible routes to the sea. There is therefore no longer any economic need for the Serbo-Montenegrin encroachment upon Albania. Will they relinquish the Albanian territories now in their hands and the special privileges they had obtained there? If not, what will happen a quarter of a century hence when the Albanians develop sufficient national cohesion and spirit to fight for their rights? Much more bitter is the struggle between Albanians and Greeks over what the first call Southern Albania and the second, Northern Epirus. It is inhabited by Moslem and Greek Orthodox Albanians who have, however, identified themselves to a large degree with modern Greek civilization. Ethnically, then, there can be no doubt as to the Albanian character of the region. But culturally its inhabitants, the Epirots, have much in common with the Greeks. The only absolute means of ascertaining the desires of the Epirots is to ask them, by means of a referendum, held under neutral auspices, whether they prefer to belong to Greece or to Albania. The leaders of the latter, finding themselves outwitted by the Greek statesmen, have appealed to Italy to champion their cause. Italy has a considerable Albanian population. Besides, Italy has a very deep interest in the strategically situated port of Valona, at the entrance into the Adriatic. Now

the Italian government did not like Greece to get too close to Valona and therefore sought the incorporation of the disputed Epirus territory in Albania, in which she succeeded, although provoking thereby the hostility of Greece. In November, 1914, Italy, then a neutral, occupied Valona. In April, 1915, Italy concluded a secret treaty with England, France and Russia in which the Allies stipulated that to Serbia and Montenegro should belong a strip of Albania's Adriatic littoral, extending as far south as the River Drin and including the ports of Dulcigno and S. Giovanni di Medua. The same clause provides that "the port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan state of Albania." Then come Articles VI and VII, which read:

"Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

"Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV, Dalmatia and the Adriatic Islands by Article V, and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized state being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro,

Serbia and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

"To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida."

It was on the strength of the above-quoted contract that Italian forces occupied Albania in 1917, although at the time the public was unaware of the existing treaty. While there can be no justification whatsoever for Italy's desire to make Albania an Italian province, it must be recognized that the port of Valona, because of its virtual domination of the whole Adriatic, cannot be allowed by the Italian government to pass into the hands of another strong nation. What is the solution? Give Valona to whom it rightfully belongs, to Albania, suggests Arnold J. Toynbee, and guarantee its perpetual neutralization in some such provisions:

"(a) Avlona (Valona) shall always remain part of Albania.

"(b) It shall never be fortified, either by Albania herself or by any large political group with a unified military organization, of which Albania may at any time hereafter become a member."

The Albanian problem is pregnant with danger-

ous possibilities. It is even more complicated than the Italian-Jugoslav dispute. Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Italy are involved in its difficulties, and a failure to solve it fundamentally would mean the rise of another menace to the peace of Europe at some future date.

IV

UKRAINE

Before the Russian Revolution of 1917 the world was practically ignorant of the existence of the Ukrainian problem. Then, when Ukraine dramatically entered the field of international relations by separating from Russia and concluding its own peace with Germany, the world was appalled at the tremendous size and enormously vital geographical position of Ukraine. Who were the inhabitants of Ukraine and how did they come into possession of that fertile and rich country that cut Russia off from the Black Sea?

The fact is that the Ukrainians are not a race distinct from the Russians in origin. The Ukrainians are Russians. They have as much claim to that title as the people whom we call Russians. The latter, strictly speaking, are Great Russians. The Ukrainians are Little Russians. The two form nine-tenths of the Russian race proper. The other tenth is made up of the White Russians, lying between the Great Russians of the north and the Little Russians of the south.

Ukraine means "borderland." That name was

given to the southern territory by the inhabitants of the northern, Muscovite, region. Had the Little Russians developed historically along the lines followed by the Great Russians, had they been confined to Russia, Ukraine would comprehend all of Little Russia. But a part of them came under the domination of Austria-Hungary, and there became known as Ruthenes, or Ruthenians. Their bulk is to be found in Eastern Galicia. The Little Russians are thus divided into two separate groups, although in language, religion, customs and early history they are one and the same people.

The history of Russia does not begin with the history of the Great Russians, but with that of the Little Russians. The first Russian kingdom or principality was established in Kiev, the capital of what is now Little Russia. When Kiev was a flourishing town, carrying on trade with the Byzantine Empire, the north of Russia was still undeveloped. Had no external forces interfered, Russia would perhaps have developed its strength in the south and eventually become dominated by the Little Russians. However, the Mongol invasions swept over the southern regions, driving the independent chiefs into the marshy and forested north. Kiev, the "Mother of Russian Cities," as it is still known, was conquered, while Moscow, in the heart of Great Russia, took over its position.

It has been said, and not without justness, that had Kiev continued as the capital of all Russia, the Ukrainian problem would never have arisen and Little Russia would have considered itself as integral a part of the country as Great Russia. The difference in the language of the two groups was only dialectic. However, Muscovy was from the very beginning a highly centralized state, and Little Russia was never permitted to share in its councils and government. The result, of course, was the estrangement of the latter from its northern brother.

Christianity entered Russia through the south. It was when Kiev was just rising that its Grand Duke, Vladimir, joined the Greek Church, and had all the inhabitants of Kiev baptized. After that Christianity spread northward and penetrated into the vast country. Kiev is even now a holy city to the religious Russians, and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims flock to its sacred places annually from every corner of Russia.

The Tartar invasions from the East drove many Little Russians westward, and they settled in Western Bukovina, Eastern Galicia and the surrounding territory. It was here that the Little Russians became known as Ruthenes in later years. This dispersal of the race weakened it, while to the northwest two great powers were developing, Lithuania and Poland. The latter obtained control over Galicia in 1340, when the Polish king,

Casimir the Great, established himself in Little Russia upon the death of its duke, in 1339. Lithuania also coveted part of that southern land and the two kingdoms finally divided it among themselves, Lithuania taking the eastern regions of Little Russia. But Lithuania later became united with Poland so that Little Russia, from the Carpathians to the Don, was incorporated with Greater Poland.

Under the rule of Poland Ukraine was subjected to considerable oppression. The Poles sought to impose their Catholic faith upon the Orthodox Little Russians. The Polish gentry succeeded in Polonizing the Little Russian gentry by barring the latter from their diets unless they became Roman Catholics. The Little Russians were originally peasants. But the introduction of the institution of serfdom in the northern countries sent a whole stream of freemen and criminals to the southern steppes of the borderland—Ukraine. These adventurers formed the nucleus for the Cossacks, who were freelances banded together by the Polish government to combat the Tartar and Turkish invaders. The Cossacks loved freedom, and when the Polish and Lithuanian nobles extended their grip over Ukraine and sought to impose serfdom on its inhabitants, a feeling of bitter enmity developed between the Ukrainians and their masters. As in many a similar case, religious persecution and economic oppression helped

to mold a national consciousness in the Little Russians, fostering first of all a spirit of revolt.

This rebellious spirit, although prevalent throughout Ukraine, found its stronghold among the independent Cossack communities living along the lower Dnieper. A climax was reached in 1648, when the Cossacks, led by their great hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitsky, raised the banner of insurrection. Khmelnitsky was a small Cossack landowner. He had been subjected to cruel ill-treatment by a Polish noble. Unable to obtain redress by law he centered his efforts on consolidating the spirit of discontent among his brethren. With a force of Cossacks and Tartars he started out northward in 1648, annihilating all the Poles and Polish Jews. A Polish leader, Potocki, made an attempt to stop his march with a force of four thousand. This contingent was wiped out, and a week later another Polish army was disastrously defeated by the rebels. The rising now assumed vast proportions, hundreds of thousands of insurgent Ukrainians gathering about Khmelnitsky. The path of the Ukrainian advance was marked with unexampled bloodshed. Terrible atrocities were committed; whole cities were wiped out, so deep was the feeling of revenge in the Cossack heart. Poland was fairly shaken. An enormous army of a quarter of a million was finally recruited by the Poles to stop the advancing war-

riors. The battle that ensued was a decisive victory for the Cossacks.

The Poles then offered terms to the Cossacks, but they were rejected by Khmelnitsky. Under the personal leadership of the king, the Poles continued desperately their efforts to subdue the rising. On the part of the Poles it was really a fight for the "privileges of the nobles and for religious intolerance," while the Cossacks fought for freedom. After many battles the latter were defeated and peace was concluded, but not of long duration. Hostilities were renewed and the Cossacks found it necessary to transfer their allegiance to the Muscovite Tsar. Khmelnitsky sent an envoy to the northern ruler offering Little Russia to him, as an autonomous unit. The treaty of Pereyaslav, concluded between Ukraine and Russia in 1654, stipulated that the former retain its separate organization under the ægis of Moscow.

The Ukrainian governmental system, if it may be described thus, was crudely republican. The hetman was elected by a general assembly of the Cossacks. This democratic institution was to be perpetuated even under the Tsar's suzeranity, according to the treaty. Perhaps if Khmelnitsky had lived long enough to establish firmly the proper relations with Moscow, Ukraine's autonomy might have proved more or less durable. Unfortunately, Kkmelnitsky died in 1657, and Russia began to encroach upon Ukraine's rights,

with a view toward the complete fusion of Little and Great Russia. By the peace of 1667, concluded between Russia and Poland, the latter obtained that part of Ukraine which adjoined it. Of course, this section lost its autonomy quickly. Eastern Ukraine, under Mazeppa, a bold hetman, sought an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden, in an effort to get rid of the oppressive Russian rule. This was during the reign of Peter the Great, who inflexibly pursued the policy of consolidation. In the celebrated Battle of Poltava, 1709, Sweden was disastrously beaten and Mazeppa fled to Turkey. Ukrainian autonomy was entirely abolished by Peter.

After his death the office of hetman was restored, although considerably reduced in power, and lasted till 1764. At the same time as Ukraine's political institution was being demolished, Russia initiated measures of repression against the Ukrainian language. In 1680 it was banned from ecclesiastical literature. In 1720 the printing of Ukrainian books was prohibited, followed by the suppression of Ukrainian schools. According to one authority, there were in the eighteenth century in the province of Tchernigov alone 866 schools, while sixty years later none of them remained in existence.

In 1772 and 1793-5, when Poland was partitioned, those parts of Ukraine which belonged to it were taken over by Russia, except Eastern Gali-

cia and part of Bukovina. These latter, known as Ruthenia, went to Austria, disguised as Polish territory. The modern Ukrainian problem dates from this division and is really a double problem, that of the Ukrainians in Russia and of the Ukrainians in Galicia. In the first they were subjected to an intense campaign of Russification, while in the second they were controlled by the Poles who desired to have them Polonized.

It was in Russian Ukraine that the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism were first born, doubtless because of the ruthless rule of Tsarism. It was there that the Ukrainian language finally assumed a literary form and found its champion and prophet in Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet. He was born a serf and raised as a serf, so that if not for the efforts of his Russian friends, he would have died a serf. He was persecuted by the Tsar's authorities and finally was arrested and exiled. He became Ukraine's national hero, and around his name centered the Ukrainian movement for national revival. Even as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, there was already an organization in Ukraine aiming to make it an independent unit in a federation of Slavic states. When the revolutionary movement in Russia assumed large proportions, the Ukrainians were among its most active promoters. It is remarked by an Ukrainian publicist that while the Russian revolutionary or-

ganizations were favoring the idea of a central governmental power to be established on the ruins of Tsardom, the Ukrainian revolutionists were aiming at the reorganization of Russia on a federal basis. It is vital to note this difference. Unfortunately it was overlooked when the two elements struggled for the overthrow of the autocracy, and became a stumbling-block after the revolution.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century Austria initiated a new policy in Galicia. Previously it had supported the Poles in their persecutions of the Ruthenians. In order to make trouble for Russia and to curb the Poles it was found necessary to encourage the Ukrainian national movement. The Ukrainian nationalists, driven from Russia, found a haven in Galicia. The Ruthenians were even allowed to establish professorships in the University of Lemberg. It has been said that the Teuton monarchies aimed at the creation of a united autonomous Ukraine to weaken Russia. A large literature was printed in Galicia and circulated secretly in Russian Ukraine, instigating rebellion and propagating Ukrainian nationalism. Several Ukrainian revolutionary parties were active in Russia in the first years of the present century. The outbreak of 1905 gave strong impetus to the Ukrainian movement. In the autumn of that year thirty-four Ukrainian periodicals were being published. In the mutiny

of the Russian Black Sea fleet of that year the Ukrainians had the lion's share. There were forty Ukrainian nationalist members in the first Russian Duma. They demanded autonomy. The subsequent Ukrainian representations in the Duma upheld this demand, adding to it a demand for the restoration to Ukraine of all the rights accorded to it by the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654.

Simultaneously with the tribulations of Russian Ukraine there was a stirring of forces in Austrian Ukraine or Ruthenia, where the Poles dominated. Speaking of the Ruthenes, Yaroslav Fedortchuk, a native writer, says: "Although since 1772 they have been Austrian, they have, as a matter of fact, remained under Polish 'patronage.' At first the Austrian government limited the power which the great Polish landowners exercised over their Ukrainian serfs. During the revolution of 1848 the Austrian government sought, against the Poles and the Hungarians, the support of the Ukrainians, and promised them the division of Galicia into two parts nationally distinct, the introduction of teaching in the Ukrainian language throughout their own schools, and finally the enfranchisement of the peasants from a state of serfdom. Having crushed the revolution the government abolished serfdom, but took no further notice of the other Ukrainian claims."

In 1873 the Poles entered into a secret compact with the Austrian government, whereby their

supremacy in Galicia was guaranteed. A Pole was appointed to the cabinet, responsible to the Polish deputies in parliament. This strengthened the Polish repressive policy toward the Ruthenians. Measures were promulgated by the Poles making it difficult for the Ukrainians to erect higher schools. Eastern Galicia, eighty per cent. of whose population is Ruthenian, became the scene of a fierce Polish-Ukrainian struggle, centering at first around the Lemberg University, from which the Poles tried to oust the Ukrainian professorships. In 1900 the Ukrainian students struck and left the University. The Austrian government proposed the establishment of a separate Ukrainian university if the Poles would consent, but the Lemberg City Council refused such consent.

"Following the Prussian methods of colonization," writes Fedortchuk, "the great Polish landlords, who owned land in the Ukrainian part of Galicia, dare not sell their land to the Ukrainian peasants. When they do, they are considered as traitors and are boycotted by the Poles, the Polish motto being: 'Not one foot of ground to the Ukrainians.' The Ukrainian peasants, the proletarians of the agricultural life, are obliged to work for a miserable pittance Ukrainian ground, which constitutes the domain of the Polish nobleman. They are shamefully exploited, and in case of resistance or boycott they are treated like bandits;

they are chained, flogged, brought barefoot to the town prisons and finally sentenced."

The conditions under which the Ukrainians lived in Galicia finally culminated in a general strike, in 1902, and which extended over all of Eastern Galicia. This was preceded, in 1897, by a conflict with the Poles which resulted in the murder of eight Ukrainians and many wounded. In 1900 two political parties were organized by the Ukrainians in Galicia. They demanded the division of Galicia into two parts, Eastern and Western, the former to be constituted as a separate Ukrainian province. It was these parties who were responsible for the strike of 1902 and for the numerous subsequent demonstrations. The revolutionary outbreaks in Russia in 1905 reverberated in Eastern Galicia and the Ukrainian movement there gained in intensity just as the Polish policy of suppression grew in severity. The dramatic climax of the contest occurred in 1908 when the Polish governor of Galicia, Count Potocki, was shot by Miroslav Sichinsky, a Ukrainian student. The indictment of the assassin recognized the fact that the shooting was the outcome of the struggle of the Ukrainian peasants against the Polish nobility, admitting that the slain governor supported the Russian policy in Galicia. In 1913 a semi-official Russian statement said that a secret pact between the Polish leaders in Galicia and the Russian Prime Minister Stolypin was in

existence. This agreement apparently was the result of the menace which the Ukrainian democratic movement constituted to both the Russian autocracy and Polish aristocracy. Sichinsky later escaped and made his way to the United States, where he was admitted after the United States government held his offense to have been a political act.

The Great War brought Galicia into the international arena. The Russian armies occupied Galicia in 1914 and immédiately the Tsar's government instituted a campaign of Russification there. The reactionary Russian Governor-General, Count Bobrinsky, issued a proclamation in which he announced that he considered "Lemberg, in East Galicia, the real cradle of Great Russia, since the original population was Russian," and that he intended to reorganize the country on the basis of Russian ideals. The Russian language was immediately introduced and the Ukrainian prohibited. Russian officials were appointed and the Ruthenian Uniate Church subjected to persecution. The Ukrainian deputy Levitsky protested in the Austrian parliament against the Russian activities, while in the Russian Duma the same methods were denounced by the radical members. When the Russians were driven out of Galicia and Russian Poland was occupied by the Central Powers, the latter sought to win the support of the Poles by setting up a reunited Poland under

their protection. The Ukrainians in Galicia were alarmed at the prospect of being incorporated in Poland and again raised their voices for autonomy.

The Russian Revolution quickly gave birth to a Ukrainian national assembly, or Rada, which met in Kiev. If the Ukrainian nationalists had demanded complete separation from Russia previous to the revolution, it was due to the rule of Tsarism. In a free Russia the Ukrainians expressed themselves in favor of a union with Russia on a federal basis. Unfortunately the Provisional Governments of Lvov and Kerensky still dreamed of a centralized and indivisible Russia. Had Kerensky realized early Ukraine's just demands for autonomy, the course of subsequent world events might have been different, for Ukraine did not come under the domination of the Bolsheviki when they took over the government in Petrograd. Nationalist Ukraine, alienated from Russia by Lvov, Kerensky and Lenine, adopted a remarkably broad-hearted attitude toward Russia, although the "separatists," mostly Austrophiles hailing from Ruthenia, did attain considerable influence in Ukrainian circles. Nevertheless, Ukraine's liberal policy triumphed, as clearly shown by the General Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council of the 20th of November, 1917, which was Ukraine's declaration of independence. It read, in part, as follows:

"Ukrainian people and all peoples of the Ukraine! An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the land of the Russian Republic. In the north, in the capitals (Petrograd and Moscow), a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

"Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united and popular Government, Ukraine also may fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter and destruction.

"People of Ukraine, you together with the brother peoples of Ukraine, have entrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukraine becomes the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples. . . .

"Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed

in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukraine, together with the citizens of all the peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear. . . .

"Citizens! In the name of the National Ukrainian Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies."

The rise of Bolshevism in Russia produced a corresponding effect on the proletariat of Ukraine, and a struggle ensued between Ukrainian Bolshevism and Ukrainian nationalism. The struggle was of brief duration. Bolshevism succumbed to the nationalist elements, reënforced by the Central Powers, who were naturally interested in disrupting Russia. The Ukrainians sent a separate commission to negotiate peace with the Central Powers. As a result of the separate peace the Teutons extended their influence in Ukraine and finally dissolved the Ukrainian national Rada and set up in its stead a dictatorship headed by Hetman Skoropadsky, who remained in power leaning on German bayonets. The downfall of the

Central Powers naturally led to the downfall of their puppet. The breakup of Austria liberated the Austrian Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, and there was no apparent obstacle toward their union with Russian Ukraine. But such an obstacle did arise as soon as the Poles learned that the Ukrainian National Council took over the administration of Eastern Galicia. The former would not admit the national claims of the Ruthenians, and war between the two races opened when Lemberg was occupied by the Ukrainians. Polish troops reconquered the city, but the Ukrainians besieged it again in January, 1919.

The Ukrainian problem is fairly complicated. The Russian Ukrainians do not demand complete separation from Russia, realizing that it would cut off the latter from the Black Sea and virtually strangle the hundred-million nation to the north. Russian Ukraine would therefore prefer to become an autonomous member of an all-Russian federation. The Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovina are actuated by two motives mainly. First, liberation from the yoke of the Polish nobility and separation from Poland. Second, reunion with their brethren to the east.

If the principle of self-determination be justly applied to the Ukrainian problem, its solution would necessarily follow ethnic lines. But these lines are rather vague in the east and north, where the Little Russians and Great Russians and White

Russians are merged. The Ukrainian national council claimed in Russia for Ukraine the provinces of Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson and Tauris (less the Crimea). In addition, it claimed some districts of other adjoining provinces, including that of Kholm, which the Poles also claimed for Poland, thus creating another Polish-Ukrainian quarrel. The main dispute is, of course, in Galicia. The Poles claim Lemberg, the capital of Eastern Galicia, on the ground that a majority of its inhabitants are Poles. Counting the Polish Jews, this is true of Lemberg and its immediate vicinity. But do the Polish Jews prefer Poland to Ukraine? And what about the indisputable fact that the larger territory in the midst of which Lemberg is situated is inhabited by a majority of Ukrainians?

When the ethnographic frontiers of Ukraine are drawn, it emerges a vast country, stretching from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. On the south it is bounded by the Black Sea, Rumania and Hungary; on the west, by Czecho-Slovakia and Poland; on the north and east by Russia. According to the Russian Imperial census of 1897 there were 22,000,000 Ukrainians in Russia, and their number must have considerably increased in the following twenty years. In Eastern Galicia and Bukovina there were 4,000,000 Ukrainians, bringing the present total for the nation well above

30,000,000, spread over more than three hundred thousand square miles, a territory almost as large as France and Spain combined.

Ukraine is an extremely fertile and wealthy country. Without Ukraine Russia would be unable to breathe and prosper. A settlement of the Ukrainian problem can therefore not be effected without consideration for Russia, as the latter would sooner or later break the barrier of an independent Ukraine and provoke another war. The Ukrainians realize this and, while pleading for the recognition of their national rights, express their willingness to enter a federation of Russian States patterned after the United States of America.

The ethnographic boundaries of Poland and Ukraine

V

POLAND

The case of Poland exemplifies to an almost perfect degree all those elements which call for the constitution of a subject people into a sovereign nation. Historical justice, national consciousness, ethnographic position are factors which in the Polish problem are made of solid material. The dismemberment of Poland is so fresh an event in history that no just settlement of the problem of nationality in Europe can be imagined without the restoration of Polish sovereignty. The Polish national consciousness does not suffer from a lack of depth and vigor, but from too much strength and passion. Ethnographically, Poland is a compact territorial unit. It is bounded on the north by East Prussia and extends to the Baltic Sea west of Danzig; it touches Lithuania in the northeast and adjoins White Russia and Ukraine in the east; on the south it is bounded by Czecho-Slovakia and on the west by Prussia.

The early history of Poland is wrapped in mythology. The ancestors of the Poles appeared on the stage of European history about twelve cen-

turies ago. Inhabiting what is in effect a huge plain, they became known to foreign travelers as "Polans," the word "pole" in Slavic meaning "field." These dwellers of what now is known as Poland, were divided before the ninth century into numerous independent tribes, governed by elected chiefs.

During the reign of Otto the Great, Germany became a menace to the Poles and they banded themselves together under the leadership of one of their chiefs, a member of the humble family of the Piasts, who was elected the first ruler of Poland in 842. He and his son consolidated the country, introduced military reforms and taught the Poles the art of organized warfare. However, the authentic records of Polish history date from 962, when Micezyslaw I ascended the throne. It was he who introduced Christianity into Poland, through his marriage to a Christian princess of Bohemia. In 968 he founded the city of Posen, considered the cradle of their country by the Poles. The expansion of Poland began with the reign of Boleslaw I, in 992. He succeeded in winning the friendship of Germany, after which he turned to the East and conquered the rich Russian town of Kiev. Boleslaw died in 1025, going down into history as the Brave, and leaving a great empire to his successors.

Meanwhile an event of tremendous consequence to the Slavic races was occurring. The two great

churches, the Greek and Roman, were struggling to extend their respective influences over the Slavs. While the Russians were coming under the domination of the Eastern Church, the Poles were being brought into the folds of the Roman Church. This division affected the future of Slavdom profoundly. As one historian observes, the Eastern Church cut off Russia to an enormous extent from Western thought and culture, and threw her back upon her own undeveloped resources and uncivilized environment. Russia was the last of the great powers to consolidate her empire. Poland, on the other hand, through the Roman Church, had a Western outlook. Western literature, art, philosophy and science, as well as religion, flowed within its borders, and as time went on greatly widened the breach between Poland and Russia.

If not geographically, spiritually Poland became a Western state. As such, it was the first to become the victim of the Asiatic invasions that swept over Europe, beginning with the thirteenth century. In 1241 the Mongolian hordes, emerging from the East, passed through Poland, leaving a trail of blood and devastation in their wake. It is interesting to observe that Poland's rehabilitation, after the invasion, was effected with the cooperation of large immigrant elements from Western Europe, mostly Germans and Jews. The reason for the movement of the latter into Poland was largely religious. Persecuted in the West,

they found a haven in the new Slavic state, which early proclaimed religious toleration. The Jews came to Poland from Germany in the eleventh century. A charter granting them the right to reside in Polish cities was issued by King Ladislaw Herman in 1096.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Poland was in a state of internal discord. However, with the rise of Casimir III to the throne in 1332 Poland entered upon an era of greatness. A statesman of the first rank, Casimir expanded his kingdom to unprecedented size. Polish civilization made great strides under Casimir's rule. In 1347 a general diet was convoked to promulgate national laws. The fruit of this legislative assembly's labors was the famous "Statute of Wislica," Poland's Magna Charta. Thirteen years before a law had been enacted which freed the Jews from all civil and commercial disabilities. In 1357 another statute, improving the condition of the Jews, was passed. In 1364 the University of Cracow was founded, the second in Europe. An event of great importance occurred during Casimir's reign, which formed the foundation for one of the most complicated phases of the present Polish problem. Ruthenia, a vast stretch of land spreading from the Danube to the Dnieper and beyond it, comprising Eastern Galicia, with its capital Lwow, or Lemberg, and Little Russia, with its capital Kiev,

was inherited by Casimir in 1340 from his mother. This land is now known as the Ukraine.

After the death of Casimir, another important event happened, which also left its mark deep in the history of Poland. Queen Jadwiga, a grandniece of Casimir, was united in marriage with Jagiello, the Prince of Lithuania, in 1386. The purpose of this marriage was to bring about an entente between Poland and Lithuania. Jagiello, a pagan, was baptized by the name of Ladislaw II, assumed the throne of the two countries under a single crown. This union remained personal for almost two centuries. It was only in 1569 that the two states were knit into a close alliance through the fusion of their national diets. One joint assembly was elected by the provincial dietines and Warsaw was chosen as the meeting-place for it, being situated between the two countries.

It is vital to note that the force which held Lithuania and Poland so long together was introduced by the Poles in the thirteenth century into the Baltic region. This force was the Order of the Teutonic Knights, and a Polish duke invited it to enter Old Prussia to combat its inhabitants, who were of Slavonic origin. This was a fatal blunder. The Teutons conquered the original Prussians and soon became a menace to the Poles and Lithuanians. They occupied the Baltic coast and extended their power in all directions. In 1410 the famous Battle of Grünwald was fought

between the Teutons and the Poles and Lithuanians. The former were beaten and Poland regained the towns of Danzig and Thorn. Eastern Prussia was held by the Teutonic Knights under the ægis of Poland. It presents to-day one of the greatest difficulties attending a just solution of the Polish problem.

"The sixteenth century," writes Nimian Hill, "was the period when the prosperity and fame of Poland reached its zenith. It was a wonderful century everywhere, when the new life of the Renaissance was pulsating with exuberant virility, and Poland shared in no small measure its progress and joy. Early in its course the new movement found a champion in Sigismund I, whose second wife was Bona Sforza, a daughter of the Duke of Milan. Under their patronage Italian architects and craftsmen were brought to Poland, where the artistic temperament of the Poles assured them of appreciation and encouragement. Art and science, liberally supported by the wealth of the nobles, flourished and led to a display of such luxury and grandeur as excited the admiration of all Europe."

Simultaneously with the attainment by Poland of its great position as a state in Europe the elements of disintegration were rising in her system. And these elements were due to Poland's experiments in democracy. Beginning with 1425, the Polish diet began to exercise control over the election of the country's kings. The diets were as-

semblies representing the gentry, or *szlachta,* which was composed of the privileged classes. The *szlachta* became the decisive factor in Polish national life. It used its elective powers to obtain special rights and privileges. Thus it won its first habeas corpus statute for recognizing the infant son of Ladislaw II as heir to the throne. A king would be elected for life, but his rule was conditioned on his keeping of the promises made. In case he failed to do so, the country was absolved from all obedience to him. The diet met irregularly, but the tendency was to limit the perogatives of the king. In 1454 Casimir IV pledged himself not to declare any war without the consent of the diets. Shortly afterward the diet obtained control over the national militia.

It is true, the *szlachta,* which constituted the diet, passed laws that were detrimental to any other class of the people but themselves. Still, it was a foundation for a legislative chamber that in favorable circumstances would have developed into a great parliamentary system. Perhaps if Poland had been so situated geographically as to be safe from foreign invasions and hostile neighbors, it would have achieved, ultimately, democratic government. As it was, self-governed Poland's only hope for the preservation of its life lay in internal harmony and unity. This condition, unfortunately, was absent from Polish life. The jealousies of the various nobles superseded

the interests of the nation. The youthful Polish democracy was therefore doomed to an existence of constant peril from the very outset of its stormy career.

Following the death of Sigismund II, a diet was convoked to elect the new king. The constitution was altered on the eve of the election so as to limit the authority of the newly elected monarch to an extraordinary degree. The king was to have no voice in the election of his successor. He was not to be an hereditary sovereign. He was to marry a woman chosen by the senate and was to be under the constant supervision of a Senate delegation. The king could not lead any troops out of Poland unless with the consent of the Assembly. The elected candidate, Henry of Valois, found his throne so uncomfortable that after a reign of thirteen months he decided to flee. Stealing out of his castle in the night, he fled on horseback with a few servants to France.

Poland was, in effect, a republic. The diet soon developed into a two-chamber assembly, the senate being composed of the higher nobility, while the lower house represented the poorer *szlachta*. But that was not the age of republicanism in Eastern Europe. It was the age of conquest and endless warfare. A strong central government was what Poland really needed, but few realized it at the time. The gentry, large and small, was dominated by petty passions and selfish motives. They

showed no disposition to share the burden of the government. Theirs was but to criticize and to see to it that no taxes be imposed on their class. They took it for granted that it was up to the king, once elected, to govern the state. It was not for them to provide him with the necessary resources. To be sure it was an erratic democracy. But has democracy in the twentieth century achieved perfection? Poland was groping in the dark, but with a parliamentary system of government, nevertheless. If Poland had been situated like England, instead of in the midst of Europe, surrounded by autocratic Russia and Germany, it would finally have emerged a modern democracy. But there was no safety in Poland's position and peace was not to be its lot.

Up to 1648 Poland maintained its imposing state in spite of internal discord and much external trouble. Beginning with that year the disintegration of the Polish power followed with amazing swiftness. That was the year of the great Ukrainian revolt, under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, the famous Cossack hetman. The Ukrainians were a free people, and the Cossacks among them were recruited largely from daring refugees from Russia. They were frontiersmen, used by the Polish rulers to combat the Turks and Tartars who occasionally emerged from the south. Gradually, however, the Polish nobility extended its grip on these freemen. They were rebellious,

against this foreign yoke and finally broke loose, led by Khmelnitsky, in a terrible war for political and religious freedom. Ukraine rose, the Cossacks united with the Tartars, and wiped out all Catholics and Jews. The Polish nobles were murdered, burned alive and their houses and castles reduced to ashes. The Polish armies were annihilated, one after another, and Poland lay prostrate before the Ukrainian hosts. Khmelnitsky was recognized as the hetman of Ukraine, and for a year and a half ruled it. However, in 1651, Khmelnitsky and his forces were defeated by Stefan Czarniecki, the great Polish leader. This victory proved a disaster to Poland. Ukraine transferred its allegiance to Russia, thereby bringing about one of the most hideous wars in history.

Russia advanced against Poland, quickly occupied Lithuania and with the aid of the Cossacks conquered Lemberg and Ruthenia, thus consolidating all of Ukraine under the Tsar's scepter. At the same time Sweden saw its opportunity and invaded Poland from the north, meeting practically with no resistance, as the Polish gentry deserted their King and went over to Sweden's side. Then, for a while, Poland was virtually wiped out as a state. The king, John Casimir, fled to Silesia. Warsaw and Cracow were occupied by the Swedes.

When everything seemed to have been irreparably lost, a religious and patriotic movement originated at the Czenstochowa Monastery, aim-

ing at the restoration of the state. The insurgents met with success in the beginning, as the Swedes were then waging a bitter war against Denmark. Under the leadership of Czarniecki the Poles freed most of their country from the Russians and the king was returned to his throne. But no great change was wrought by the rebellion in the internal affairs of Poland. The country soon drifted into its former condition of corruption and intrigue. The celebrated "Liberum Veto" was introduced into the diet, by which a single dissenter could defeat a bill and even dissolve the assembly. Foreign governments utilized this extreme instrument of democracy for their own benefit. The internal demoralization continued to grow in Poland, in spite of the fact that it produced one of its most brilliant rulers toward the end of the seventeenth century.

John Sobieski, a military genius of the first rank, was chosen king in 1674. He defended his country with great skill against the Turks and later rendered imperishable service to the cause of Western civilization, when he relieved Vienna, in 1683, by inflicting a crushing blow upon the aggressive Ottoman forces. After Sobieski followed a period of civil war and another Swedish invasion. Poland continued to decline during the eighteenth century till it reached the stage when it "ceased to exhibit any evidence of national life and virtue," according to one publicist. "It was a time

of external peace, internal stagnation and moral decay. . . . The end was hastening on. The decline of Poland was irremediable."

Then followed the great crime. Prussia, Russia and Austria deliberately plotted to destroy the Polish republic. What is usually overlooked about this revolting plot is that it was carried out by three Teutonic rulers, for Catherine the Great was really a Prussian princess and the protégée of Frederick the Great. It was the latter who took the initiative in the movement to dismember Poland. In 1769 he sent a special envoy to Russia to sound Catherine on a scheme to partition Poland. In 1772 the first partition of Poland occurred.

What were the motives that urged Prussia and Russia to fall upon Poland and tear it to pieces? Paderewski says that "Poland fell because her neighbors were greedy, unscrupulous and strong! Poland fell because she was generous, humane and weak! Poland fell, to tell you the truth, because she had no permanent army to defend her possessions. But, do not think that Poland fell alone! With the Polish republic fell also the honor of three monarchies. With our independence fell also the apathetic conscience of civilized Europe. They will not rise, they will not cleanse themselves, until our freedom is restored again."

But Poland fell also because she was evolving a system of government contrary to the prin-

ciple of autocracy. In fact, old, decayed Poland was about to give way to a new, modern Poland. France was undergoing a process that was bound to have profound effects on Poland. France was giving birth to those powerful ideas which heralded a new social and political world order. Poland could not help reacting to them. It soon followed France in the path of regeneration. But it had the misfortune of being situated among three powers that had already learned to elevate autocracy into a modern institution. It was therefore in the interests of these powers to safeguard their own system of government from the dangers of democracy.

By the first partition Prussia robbed Poland of the Baltic littoral, taking all of West Prussia, except the cities of Danzig and Thorn. Russia obtained the provinces of Polock, Vitebsk and Moghilev, which were, strictly speaking, half Russian and half Lithuanian, but not Polish, in population. Austria secured Galicia and some bordering territory. Thus, in the first partition only Prussia and Austria obtained control over parts of Poland that were inhabited by Poles.

Following the first partition comparative order reigned in Poland for a couple of decades. The people were under the delusion that the appetites of their neighbors had been satisfied and that henceforth Poland's integrity would be respected and her independence secured. Intellectually,

Poland made great progress in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Her trade flourished, in spite of her loss of the Baltic littoral. The ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau and contemporary French philosophers made headway among the Poles. Politically, however, the Poles smarted under the humiliation of Russian rule and intrigue, as the Polish king, Stanislaw, was the puppet of Catherine the Great. Poland found an opportunity to breathe freely in 1787, when Russia became engaged in a war on Turkey. Poland began to set her house in order. A diet was convoked, which went down into history under the name of "The Four Years' Diet." It was to elaborate a new constitution. The diet was composed mainly of young, enthusiastic, patriotic deputies. The constitution finally adopted by the assembly made the form of government a limited and hereditary monarchy. The Liberum Veto was abolished. The franchise was so extended as to give the vote to the townsmen, on an equal basis with the nobles. The condition of the peasants was improved. A provision was made for religious toleration. The constitution embodied many other reforms, and it was greeted with tremendous popular rejoicings. Poland became a democracy in a modern sense, with a constitution that is still considered to have been the most advanced of its time.

The transformation that occurred in Poland

was not to the liking of autocratic Russia. Catherine the Great adopted at first a cold, and later an openly hostile attitude toward the new Polish revolutionary constitution. She was aided in her designs by a group of treacherous Polish magnates, led by Prince Felix Potocki, who were naturally displeased with the democratic movement. The Russian Empress now declared war on Poland and sent an army of 100,000 against it. The Polish forces were numerically much weaker and were compelled to retire before the Russian invaders. The Poles appealed for help to Frederick William, King of Prussia, who had previously approved of the constitution and adopted a friendly policy toward Poland. However, he was now embroiled in the celebrated campaign against revolutionary France, and could not very well support, even morally, a course in Poland which he opposed in France. He announced that he would coöperate with Russia and Austria in "restoring order" in Poland.

"The Poles were aghast," according to one writer, "at the turn of affairs. The constitution from which so much had been expected, instead of assuring peace and prosperity, was doing nothing but increasing internal dissensions and causing renewed foreign intervention." The Polish troops, in spite of their hard resistance, were too weak to withstand the Prussian and Russian armies. The former occupied Danzig and Thorn

in January of 1793. Under the leadership of Prince Joseph Poniatowski the Poles succeeded in retarding somewhat the Russian advance. Meanwhile, a new figure appeared on the scene. His name was Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who fought under Washington in the American War of Independence. He brilliantly marshaled the small forces of his country, but in vain. There was no unity in the heart of Poland. The king was a weakling, and with the lesson of Louis the Sixteenth, who was executed on the 21st of January, 1793, before him, he joined the confederation of the renegade Polish magnates that supported Catherine's schemes. The constitution was repealed, the Polish leaders fled, and the confederation was set up as the government of the country, placing Poland virtually in the hands of Catherine.

In accordance with a secret treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia, the second partition of Poland then took place. To give this criminal act a semblance of legality, a diet was assembled at Grodno. Its membership was packed, and yet, in spite of all threats from the Russian ambassador, it was slow to ratify the treaty of dismemberment. Finally, grenadiers were introduced into the assembly-place and four cannon were pointed against the meeting-chamber. The Russian general was present to enforce the ratification. But to the eternal honor of the Poles, they refused to be intimidated, even after four of them

had been arrested. The deputies then decided not to transact any business till their colleagues were freed. Silence reigned in the hall. Nobody spoke. The Russian ambassador made it clear that no one would be allowed to leave the chamber unless the treaty was ratified. Silence was the diet's response to this, too. Hour after hour passed in stillness. Midnight came and went in silence. Finally, at three o'clock in the morning, after the marshal had again asked the deputies for a vote, it was suggested that silence might be construed as an expression of assent. The Russian ambassador read the instructions of Catherine, which in addition to Russia's annexation of Lithuania, White Russia, and the Ukrainian provinces incorporated in Poland, provided for the cession of purely Polish territory to Prussia, and which was the chief cause for the deputies' objection. It was then announced the treaty had been ratified. The second partition of Poland was accomplished through this "dumb sitting."

A wave of patriotic frenzy swept over Poland, as a result of the humiliation of the second partition. The spirit of revolt spread widely, fostered by general dissatisfaction, due to the breakdown of commerce and trade. It finally took the form of an insurrection in Cracow where, on the 24th of March, 1794, the cry was raised by the populace of "Liberty, Integrity and Independence!" The man to whom the insurgents naturally turned was

Kosciuszko, who was then living in retirement in Dresden. He heard the call of his countrymen and hurried to Cracow, where he assumed command over all the Polish forces. He summoned the people to arms in a manifesto in which he said: "The last moment has arrived, in which despair, in the midst of shame and reproach, puts arms in our hands. Our hope is that scorn of death which can alone ameliorate our lot and that of our posterity."

Kosciuszko's rebellion met with spectacular successes at the beginning. Although his army was badly equipped, he defeated the Russians in several engagements. All Poland was ablaze with the flame of revolt and rose against its oppressors, sweeping them out of the country. Nevertheless, it was too much for Poland to overcome the forces of three mighty powers. The Prussian army advanced and Cracow was taken, opening the road into Poland, after a battle in which the Poles were outnumbered and defeated. The Prussians then advanced toward Warsaw and invested the city, but were unable to capture it. Meanwhile Catherine had concluded peace with Turkey and ordered her general, Suvorov, to make speed with his army toward Poland. The Empress was furious at the insurgents and resolved, in her own words, "that the time has come, not only to extinguish to the last spark the fire that has been lighted in our

neighborhood, but to prevent any possible rekindling of its ashes."

On October the 10th, 1794, the Polish and Russian armies met, and the fatal battle in the history of Poland was fought. Kosciuszko was wounded several times and finally taken prisoner. A remark was attributed to him which he later stoutly denied having made. It was the famous "Finis Poloniæ!" Poland, indeed, was finished. Suvorov advanced, took Warsaw and ended the rising, with a bloody massacre of the inhabitants of Warsaw. Thirteen thousand Poles were butchered by the Russians, two thousand were drowned. Among the valiant defenders of Warsaw was a Jewish regiment, which perished to the last man.

There was much discord among the conquerors over the spoils, the Russians claiming the lion's share. An agreement was finally reached, in 1795, whereby Austria annexed Cracow and a large slice of territory; Prussia took Warsaw, with a stretch of country as far as the Niemen, and Russia got the rest. Thus Poland passed out of existence.

The hopes of the Poles were raised with the rise of Napoleon. His sweep eastward, his conquest of Prussia and march into Russia won the sympathies of the Polish people for him. They expected him to liberate and restore their country, although he was never explicit on this point. Upon his arrival in Warsaw he was greeted with

unbounded enthusiasm. It was there that he met the beautiful Countess Walewska and fell in love with her at first sight. She left her husband to join Napoleon, and they had a son who afterward had quite a distinguished career as a diplomat. After defeating the Russians, Napoleon created at Tilsit, on July 7th, 1807, the Duchy of Warsaw. The Poles were naturally not satisfied with this small kingdom and gallantly fought the Austrians, regaining Cracow and Western Galicia. Eighty thousand Poles supported Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia in 1812. With the passing of Napoleon, the Duchy of Warsaw expired. At the Congress of Vienna, 1815, Poland was redistributed among the partitioning powers. The city of Cracow was constituted an independent little republic, while the purely Polish provinces that went to Russia were set up as an autonomous kingdom with Alexander I as hereditary ruler. Differences developed between Russia and the Polish kingdom, which culminated in a revolt in 1830, following the French revolution of that year. The Poles put up a valiant fight, but were crushed by Nicholas I, and their autonomy was abolished. Again in 1848, when the tide of revolution rose in Western Europe, Poland became a center of rebellion. This time it proved the end of the Cracow principality. Then in 1863 a rising of large dimensions again broke out in Russian Poland. It was suppressed in torrents of blood.

The hand of Tsarism lay heavy on political Poland. The country became a virtual province of the Russian Empire, and was subjected to an intense campaign of Russification. Prussian Poland fared even worse, for the German autocracy was more efficient, and its campaign of Prussianization proved more merciless and deadly.

However, from 1863 to 1914 Poland, partitioned among the three empires, prospered economically. Especially was this prosperity marked in Russian Poland, where commerce and industry reached enormous proportions. The Polish provinces became the most progressive section of Russia in education, in manufacture, in trade, and in the development of natural resources. In spite of all the efforts of the Tsar's government to Russify Poland, the Poles retained their national consciousness and cohesion, and Poland seethed with nationalistic movements. Its literature, poetry, music blossomed luxuriantly. Poland became a great center of modern civilization.

Then came the Great War. On the fields of Poland immense armies swayed back and forth, killing, pillaging, devastating. These armies had hundreds of thousands of Poles on the side of Russia opposed to hundreds of thousands of Poles in the ranks of the Austro-German forces. For Poland, therefore, it was a terrible experience. But even more terrible was the ruin wrought in its fair cities and villages. According to some

estimates, three hundred towns, twenty thousand villages, two thousand churches were razed to the ground. Millions were set adrift, wandering eastward back of the Russian armies. Billions of dollars in property were destroyed.

Politically, Poland was torn in two. The working classes, generally speaking, favored the Central Powers, being actuated by deep hatred for Tsarism. The upper classes favored an understanding with Russia. As soon as the war broke out the former rallied around Joseph Pilsudski, a Russian Polish revolutionary leader, who led a Polish Legion organized in Galicia against the Russian army. But the Russians were at first victorious. In the fall of 1914 Grand Duke Nicholas issued his celebrated manifesto, promising autonomy to a re-united Poland. Although the Russian conduct in the occupied Polish territory was not of a nature to encourage Polish national optimism, the Grand Duke's proclamation had a profound effect. However, Hindenburg's great victory over the Russian armies in 1915 placed all of Poland in the hands of the Central Powers. After more than a year of hesitation Austria and Germany declared, on November 5, 1916, Polish "independence." The Central Powers wanted Pilsudski to raise an army to coöperate with them, but the Polish radical and his party would not agree to do it unless guaranteed a strictly Polish national government for the country.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought Poland near to Russia. The Petrograd Provisional Government addressed the following words to the Poles: "The Russian nation, which has shaken off its yoke, recognizes also the absolute right of the brother nation of Poland to decide its own fate by the exercise of its own will. . . . The Polish nation, liberated and unified, will settle for itself the nature of its own government, expressing its will by means of a Constituent Assembly, convoked on the basis of universal suffrage in the capital of Poland." This proclamation made the Poles anti-Teutonic. Deep differences developed between the Central Powers and the Warsaw Regency Council, and ended in the arrest of the once Austrophile General Pilsudski and his imprisonment in Germany.

Meanwhile a Polish National Committee was set up in Paris by leading exiles, representing the tendencies of the Polish upper classes, especially the nobility. The chief figures in this committee were I. J. Paderewski, the famous pianist, and R. Dmowski, formerly the head of the Polish delegation in the Russian Duma. A Polish army was organized in France, under General Haller, to cooperate with the Allies, and France, England, Italy and the United States recognized it in 1918 as a co-belligerent force. Thousands of American Poles voluntarily joined the army of General Haller.

When Austria-Hungary collapsed a Polish government sprang up in Galicia under the presidency of the Socialist Daszynski, but he handed over his authority to Pilsudski upon the surrender of Germany and his release from prison. The Germans were then expelled from Poland and the Poles proceeded to consolidate their liberated country. It was while doing so that the Poles came in conflict with their neighbors, at a time when peace at home was not yet established. The arrival of Paderewski in Poland in the last days of 1918 caused a crisis between the conservative and radical elements in the country. The former even made an effort to overthrow Pilsudski's government, but failed.

The solution of the Polish international problem has not been worked out yet on an equitable basis even theoretically. Polish national aspirations, it must be frankly acknowledged, are annexationist. While the elements represented by R. Dmowski aim at the creation of a centralized Polish empire numbering between 35,000,000 and 40,000,000 inhabitants, nearly half of whom would be non-Polish, the radical patriotic elements, considerably less avaricious, still lay claim to Lithuania, as if the latter were not a distinct nationality with rights of its own. In order to solve the Polish problem it is necessary to settle Poland's disputes with Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and the Jews. Had the Poles been will-

ing to leave all these settlements to the Peace Conference, a great deal of racial and national enmity would have been averted. There is only one way to solve the Polish territorial problem justly, and that is to find an ethnographic solution, and not an historical one. The entire civilized world recognizes Poland's indisputable right to sovereign national existence, as well as the crime committed by Russia, Austria and Prussia in partitioning Poland. And yet the restoration of Poland as it existed in 1772, before the first partition, would be a monstrosity. Poland was then a conglomerate state, a huge empire, but not a nation. Within its borders were then large sections of Great Russian, White Russian, Little Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian (Lettish), and German territory.

To recreate that empire would be equivalent to the restoration of the disrupted Dual Monarchy. And yet there are Polish leaders who go nearly as far as advocating such a "solution" of their national problem. What will have happened if they actually take over the control of Poland can be imagined from what really did happen under the dictatorship of the radical Pilsudski. Within a few days after his rise to power the Poles were fighting with the Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Germans. Pilsudski's government publicly claimed Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, and some districts of White Russia. The Lithuanians and White Russians

called upon the Bolsheviki of Russia to support them against the aggression of Poland. In Galicia bloody warfare occurred between the Ukrainians and the Poles, mainly over Lemberg and Przemysl, in which the Jews suffered greatly. In the west, a Polish force, after occupying Posen, which rightfully belongs to Poland, spread out in every direction, toward Breslau, Silesia; Berlin, the capital of Germany; and Danzig, the great Baltic port. Now Danzig and its immediate vicinity are German ethnographically. To the west of Danzig a strip of territory about twenty-five miles wide, inhabited by a majority of Poles, connects the Baltic with the bulk of Poland. However, it is generally agreed that Poland ought to have access to the sea, that the port of Danzig ought to be made available to the Poles, which could be done by making it a free port, but the Polish government was not satisfied to leave the settlement of the problem to the Peace Conference and proceeded to seize the city by force.

In the case of Poland, then, the difficulties lie mainly in the strength of the national spirit of the Polish people. Poland must be re-united. Poland must be independent. These two demands have the approval of civilized mankind. But how are you going to curb the annexationist tendencies of Polish nationalism? This nationalism must be reconciled, to insure peace, with the legitimate claims of the Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians,

Germans, and Jews. The last present an internal question, but a sore one. There will be about three million Jews in the new Poland. The relations between the Jews and the Poles in the past decade have been very strained. The Poles, led by anti-Semites like Dmowski, had organized an economic boycott of the Jews which resulted in great suffering to them. An even more important result was the awakening in the Polish Jews of extreme nationalistic tendencies, which widened the chasm betwen them and the Poles. To satisfy all the demands of the Polish Jews would be an infringement of Polish rights, it must be admitted. But that the Jews in Poland should enjoy full religious, political, cultural and economic freedom, such as they are enjoying in the United States of America, for instance, seems but elementary justice. This was recognized by the government of Pilsudski, which announced its intention to solve the Polish-Jewish problem on such a basis.

There can be no just and definite solution of Poland's boundary questions unless it rests on purely ethnographic lines. More than in any other case, Polish historical claims are pregnant with international disputes. Poland must be re-united, free and independent, with access to the sea, but must include only genuinely Polish lands.

VI

LITHUANIA

There is a widespread impression that the Lithuanians are a Slavic race. This is not true. The Lithuanians, together with the Letts and the extinct Old Prussians, formed a distinct branch of the Indo-European family. They occupied the southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea early in the history of Europe and inhabited the basin of the River Niemen and the territory lying between the Vistula and the Dwina a thousand years ago. The country that later became known as Lithuania was a thickly-forested, marshy, inaccessible land, the dwellers of which preserved their primitive life longer than their neighbors. Their fighting qualities made them the masters of a large stretch of territory, extending at one time as far north as the Gulf of Finland. They remained pagans even after the neighboring races had adopted Christianity.

With the rise of strong nations in the east and west of their country, the Lithuanians were put on the defensive, fiercely fighting the Russians and the Poles. The latter found the Lithuanians and

their kindred races so troublesome that they invited the Teutonic Knights to enter the Baltic littoral, ostensibly to spread Christianity, but really to combat the savage inhabitants of the region. It was this movement that turned part of the Baltic littoral into German territory known to us now as East and West Prussia.

The Lithuanians were able to withstand the onslaughts of the Teutonic Knights, although parts of their territory were overrun and occupied by the invaders. The Lithuanians to-day claim those parts of Prussia under the name of Lithuania Minor as properly belonging to them, insisting that the inhabitants had never been Germanized during the centuries that they formed part of Prussia. Because of their paganism, the light-haired, blue-eyed, massive, warlike inhabitants of the valley of the Niemen were subjected to efforts at Christianization by the Greek Orthodox Russians and the Roman Catholic Poles. It was the Lithuanian resistance that finally gave birth to a united Lithuanian state. The pressure of the Christians was too great, especially after the Lithuanian cousins, the Letts, had been converted to Christianity and organized into the Livonian Order, which pushed onward in its campaign to spread Christianity. The Lithuanians were surrounded by aggressive Christian forces, which included adventurous crusaders from all over Europe. The Lithuanian ruler of the period,

Mindaugas, resolved to submit to Rome and be baptized, which ceremony took place in 1250. Pope Innocent IV was so pleased that he rewarded the Lithuanian chief with a crown, making Mindaugas the first king of Lithuania.

With the adoption of Christianity the Lithuanian king expected to regain his former possessions and consolidate his state. However, he encountered the opposition of the Christian Orders and found it expedient to recant in order to lead an uprising of all the Lithuanian tribes against the Livonian Order. The rising was successful, although Mindaugas was killed three years after he recanted, in 1260. He was followed by a series of Lithuanian rulers, of whom the most renowned was Gedeminas, 1316-1341, the first ruler to establish a system of government in Lithuania. He extended his dominions over many principalities to the east and south, so that in the fourteenth century Lithuania included practically all of White Russia, a portion of Great Russia and a considerable section of Little Russia, or Ukraine. Gedeminas concluded a treaty with Poland in 1325, forming a military alliance against the Livonian Order, as well as the foundation for the later union of Lithuania and Poland.

Lithuania embraced Christianity in 1386 as the result of the marriage of its ruler Jagello to the queen of Poland, Jadwiga. The Lithuanian ruler thus became the king of Poland. It is from this

year that the controversy over the Polish-Lithuanian union dates. According to the Poles, the marriage constituted the virtual fusion of Lithuania and Poland into one sovereign state. According to the Lithuanians, the marriage of Jagello removed him from Lithuanian life, and their country continued to exist as an independent entity. It would appear that the union was in fact but nominal, as the Lithuanians elected a successor to Jagello, an able leader, named Vitautas. Henceforth Poland and Lithuania fought conjointly the Teutonic Order, and in 1410, at Grünwald, the two allies decisively defeated the Teutons and stopped their spread eastward. In the fifteenth century Lithuania reached its greatest territorial limits, stretching from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south.

Up to 1569 the relations between Lithuania and Poland remained unchanged. The Poles continued to elect as their kings the descendants of Jagello who ruled over Lithuania. In that year, during the reign of Sigismond Augustus, an assembly was convoked in Lublin, which resulted in the fusion of the two states. "Here over the protests of a large number of the Lithuanian delegates," writes a Lithuanian publicist, "the Lublin Union was formed under which Lithuania and Poland were welded together into one so-called republic, ruled by the privileged nobility. Both states were presided over by one head and were permitted but

one senate and one 'Sejm' (the Lower House), which convened alternately first in one, then in the other country. A single coat of arms was adopted, with the insignia of both countries incorporated in the seal. The customs duties between the two nations were entirely abolished. In the face of all this, however, Lithuania persisted in maintaining her own army, her own fiscal and judicial system, and certain of her administrative officers, such as Marshal, Chancellor, a Hetman and others."

Lithuania remained a part of Poland till the dismemberment of the latter. It is this that gives ground for the Polish argument that the restoration of Poland entails the incorporation in it of Lithuania. Had the Lithuanians been assimilated by the Poles during the centuries that they belonged to Poland, the present Polish claim to Lithuania might be justified. However, such is not the case. The Lithuanians display a vigorous national consciousness, and deny that they had ever been Polonized. Polish penetration into Lithuania never went further than a spiritual union between the nobility of the two countries. The Lithuanian peasantry never came under the influence of the Poles and preserved their own language, traditions and even many of their ancient heathen practices and ceremonies.

In the first partition of Poland, 1772, Russia's share was really a perfectly legitimate one. Rus-

sia took away from Poland provinces that were incorporated in Lithuania before it had joined Poland, but which were really Russian. It is both curious and significant that even at the second partition, 1793, in which Germany and Austria came in possession of genuinely Polish lands, Russia's share was still legitimate as the territories which Russia then detached from Poland were not Polish, not Lithuanian, strictly speaking, but White Russian. A Lithuanian writes that at the second partition Russia received so-called Russian Lithuania, and the Lithuanians were left only Lithuania proper. Thus the ethnographical borders of Lithuania were thereby defined by the Russians themselves. At the third partition in 1795 Russia took all that remained of Lithuania, with the exception of the province of Suvalki, which went to Prussia, and later was added by Napoleon to the Duchy of Warsaw. The Congress of Vienna ceded this province to Russia, with the Kingdom of Poland.

What would have happened to Lithuania had she not joined Poland in the sixteenth century will always remain a subject for speculation. Some Lithuanians believe that the union with Poland brought about Lithuania's ruin. According to them, Lithuania degenerated when united with Poland. "The state was dissolved, the upper classes became separated from the common people, who still remained faithful to their language,

though they were without schools, without any rights, and were oppressed by the degrading system of serfdom. Lithuania, during this period, made no progress in literature, political economy, or business, but rather degenerated in these branches of activity."

It is hardly conceivable that an independent Lithuania would have emerged and existed in modern times with powerful, aggressive Russia surrounding it. It is probable, though, that Lithuania, swallowed up by Russia, would still have remained a strongly individual national body, even as Poland was in all the years that it formed part of the Russian Empire. In fact it was the Russian oppression that stimulated the development of the national consciousness in all the subject races of the Empire. The Lithuanians were treated in the traditional manner. A campaign of Russification was inaugurated in their land, abolishing every vestige of Lithuanian autonomy and national life. The Universiay of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, and many other schools, were closed in 1832. In 1864 all the Lithuanian native publications were suppressed and the Russian language was imposed upon them. The Lithuanians were also persecuted on account of their Roman Catholic faith. Finally, the Russians went as far as colonizing Lithuanian lands with Russians, who were encouraged and financially helped to settle in Lithuania.

The persecutions resulted in a large emigration. About three hundred thousand Lithuanians emigrated into the interior of Russia and into Poland and the neighboring provinces. Gradually the stream of emigration grew in size, passing through England and Scotland, extending as far as South Africa, New Zealand, Argentina, Canada and the United States. There are nearly eighty thousand Lithuanians in Chicago alone. If the Lithuanian claim to Kosciusko, who was a native of Lithuania, be upheld, the Lithuanians would have reason to be proud of their contribution to the making of the United States. At present there are nearly three-quarters of a million Lithuanians in the United States.

The Lithuanian national consciousness finds its expression in the Lithuanian literature and culture, as well as the movement for independence. Lithuanian writers first appear in the sixteenth century. Between 1547 and 1701 fifty-nine Lithuanian books were published. The translator of the Bible, the Reverend Dauksa, a famous preacher, was also a Lithuanian nationalist. "To take the language from a nation is equivalent," he said, "to taking the sun from the heavens, to destroying world-order, to snuffing out the life and the honor of a nation." In the eighteenth century Lithuanian poetry reached a high standard, when the remarkable pastoral poem by Christian Donelaitis, "The Joys of Spring," was written. It

was rendered into German under the name of "The Four Seasons" and into Russian by the Imperial Academy and also by two modern poets. After 1864 the Lithuanians were forbidden to print even a prayer-book in their own language and in the Latin characters. It was therefore in foreign lands that the Lithuanian national press was born. In 1883 a Lithuanian periodical was established at Tilsit, Prussia, which clearly set forth the ideas of Lithuanian nationalism, independent of Poland and its culture. Since then the Lithuanian national movement gained in intensity at such a rapid pace, that in 1905 the Lithuanians were among the first to lead in the Russian revolution of that year. With the freedom then gained by the Russian people, the Lithuanians were allowed to use their own language. In Vilna alone a dozen periodicals sprang up in a decade. Altogether there were about seventy publications appearing in Lithuanian all over the world. A Russian professor wrote a quarter of a century ago of the Lithuanian national movement: "Young Lithuania has succeeded, first, in developing a new spelling and literary language for the Lithuanian people, secondly, it has satisfactorily explained the close ethnographic relationship existing between the Letts and the Lithuanians and has pointed out the absolute divergence of the interests of the Lithuanian intellectuals from those of the Poles. . . . The Poles may say what they please, but the fact re-

mains that the Lithuanians inhabiting the Lithuanian territory not only continue to speak their own native tongue, but have also been successful in preserving their ancient customs and traits."

In the revolutionary year of 1905 the Lithuanians called a national assembly, which met in Vilna. Two thousand delegates, representing every section and class, came to the Congress. Some of the envoys were said to have been unable to speak their native tongue, but insisted that they were of Lithuanian blood. The Lithuanian representatives in the Duma were always on guard to defend their national rights, claiming autonomy and demanding the separation of the province of Suvalki from the Kingdom of Poland. Both the Poles and the Russians were hostile to the Lithuanian movement, which constantly gained strength from the support given to it by the Lithuanian colonists abroad, notably in the United States and Great Britain.

The Great War caused immense suffering in Lithuania, where the contending hosts fought long and stubbornly. But it also gave an added impetus to Lithuanian nationalism. In an appeal made to their brethren in America, the Lithuanian leaders said early in the war: "Strenuous and telling times are here. We must emerge free, or die fighting for freedom. Lithuanians have vitality and strength enough to be equals of all other free nations. We must win the right to mould our

own destiny and our own future. Now is the time to take our faith in our hands—now, or never!"

After Grand Duke Nicholas, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, issued his manifesto to the Poles toward the end of 1914, promising restoration of their country, the Lithuanian political committee of Vilna issued the following statement:

"Lithuania is a separate unit historically, culturally, and economically.

"Lithuania will defend herself to the bitter end against every attempt of the Poles to spread Polish propaganda in Lithuania under the pretext of the historical union of the two countries.

"Because certain Poles deliberately and fraudulently misrepresent the identity of Poles and Lithuanians, it becomes indispensable for the national life of Lithuania to combat such political methods of the Poles and to disclose to the world the actual relations as they exist between the Poles and the Lithuanians.

"It is essential to struggle for the unification of Lithuania, i. e. for the union of the government of Suvalki and of Lithuania Minor to Lithuania and it is vital to obtain the right of political self-determination for the Lithuanians."

In the course of the World War several Lithuanian conventions and conferences met in foreign countries, in Stockholm, in Berne, Lausanne, and in the United States. They all set forth unmis-

takably the principles of Lithuanian nationalism. In Russia, after some secret meetings, the Lithuanian National Council, representing all the parties of the country, was formed, dedicated to the attainment of independence for the Lithuanian nationality. The Russian Revolution naturally gave a tremendous impetus to the Lithuanian movement. The Lithuanian National Council adopted a declaration in which it stated that "Lithuania is a separate ethnographical, cultural, economic, and political unit, and as regards numbers and economic considerations, the Lithuanians constitute the basic element of Lithuania's inhabitants."

However, all the Lithuanian manifestos were ineffective, for the simple reason that practically all Lithuania was occupied by the German armies. The Lithuanians exerted all their efforts in influencing Russian public opinion in their favor, but the Provisional Government of Russia was slow to recognize Lithuania's claims, favoring an arrangement with Poland whereby the latter would include Lithuania, so as to lay the basis for a Russian-Polish union. In October, 1917, there met in Kiev a congress of twenty-two minor Russian nationalities. This convention passed on the claims of all the subject races of Russia. It adopted a series of resolutions, one of which was on the Lithuanian question, demanding that:

"The Provisional Government of Russia issue a proclamation recognizing the right of Lithuania

to form a sovereign state of Lithuania out of the Russian and Prussian Lithuanian territories and of the Lithuanian districts of the Government of Suvalki, in conformity with the principle of self-determination."

Ethnographically, the Lithuanian problem is not easy of solution. Fortunately the Lithuanians do not demand the restoration of their country as it existed at the height of its career as a state. "The platform of every active political party in Lithuania contains the demand for the right of self-determination within the whole of ethnographic Lithuania. All these parties realize only too well that it would be both fatal and wrong to desire the reëstablishment of historic Lithuania which extended over a vast expense inhabited by many other races. Nor would any of them lay the slightest claim to lands which were genuinely Lithuanian in times remote, but whose inhabitants subsequently suffered complete transformation as, for instance, Western Prussia, where the population has ceased being Lithuanian altogether in speech, in custom and in spirit." Thus reads a Lithuanian statement.

By a secret agreement concluded between Russia and the Allies and made public by the Bolshevist government, Russia was to annex as a result of the war German Lithuania Minor. Had that treaty been carried out, all Lithuania would have been reunited under Russian protection. Lithua-

nia Minor has a population of about half a million. Russian Lithuania, or Lithuania Major, comprising the government of Kovno, the larger parts of the governments of Vilna and Suvalki, and sections of the governments of Grodno and Minsk, has a population of nearly five million. An independent Lithuanian state would thus have a population of five million, more than Serbia or Bulgaria before the war, almost as populous as Denmark and Norway put together, or nearly equal to either Sweden or Portugal.

There is a movement in Lithuania for a union with the Letts. Should such an alliance be consummated the united state would contain a population of more than seven million. Given a chance there is no reason why the Lithuanians should not prosper and develop economically and culturally. Their land is fertile and abundant with forests. Germany exploited Lithuania to an enormous extent. By the way of the Niemen River alone she imported from Lithuania about three hundred million cubic feet of wood. Russia did not seek to develop Lithuania's resources. If anything, she hampered such a development. And yet the Lithuanian people are capable of producing a high state of civilization. To insure such an outcome, it is but necessary to allow Lithuania free and autonomous development and start it on the road to progress.

VII

LETTONIA

The Letts are of the same origin as the Old Prussians, who no longer retain their racial characteristics, having been absorbed by the Teuton invaders, and the Lithuanians. Lettonia, or Livonia, or Latvia, the homeland of the Letts, lies immediately to the north of Lithuania, on the Baltic littoral, about equally divided by the Dwina River. North of Lettonia lies Esthonia. To the east of it is Russia. Of the three Baltic provinces of the Russian empire, Courland, Livonia or Livland, and Esthonia, the first and the greater part of the second are inhabited by the Letts and comprise Lettonia.

The Letts number about 2,000,000. They have lived in their land since time immemorial and are the only rightful masters of it. The Letts are not of Slavonic origin, neither are they related to the Mongolian Finns, dwelling to the north of them. They are, together with the Lithuanians, the only survivors of a distinct branch of the Indo-European family. They speak a language closely related to the Lithuanian. But they are separated

from the latter by religion, being Lutherans, while the Lithuanians are Roman Catholics.

It was the Germans who brought Christianity into Lettonia, and in doing so subjugated the Letts. The first Germans to come into the country were traders from Lübeck. They were followed by missionaries of Christianity who founded the town of Riga in 1201 and organized a military body, the Livonian Order, to Christianize the Letts. There were not many of these Germans, but they conquered the land and settled on it as rulers, eventually assuming baronial titles. During the Reformation they embraced Lutheranism, communicating it to the Letts.

When the Livonian Order was dissolved and Sweden gained control of the Baltic region, the oppressed population received some freedom and education. During the reign of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, in the first part of the sixteenth century, many schools were established in Lettonia. The benevolent rule of the Swedes did not, however, carry with it the overthrow of the immediate overlords, the Teutonic nobles, who were thoroughly hated by the Lettish peasantry. When Charles XII was defeated at Poltava in 1709, the Baltic lands came under the aegis of Peter the Great and became part of the Russian Empire.

It was from the ranks of the Teutonic nobility in the Baltic provinces that autocratic Russia recruited in the past two centuries many of its lead-

ing statesmen, administrators and reactionary governors. Up to the outbreak of the Great War these Baltic Junkers were intimately identified with all that was sinister in Tsardom, maintaining only remote relations with their German cousins. Perhaps in all the breadth and width of Russia there was not another region where the hand of the landlords lay heavier on the peasants. The Teuton nobles barred even the slightest reforms introduced by Russia. In the early days of the reign of Alexander I an attempt was made by the then liberal Russian government to relieve the lot of the Lettish serf, but it was thwarted by the German masters, who were greatly helped by the corrupt clergy.

About the middle of the nineteenth century the Lettish peasants began to show signs of rebellion. Several times they revolted against their oppressors, but were suppressed by Russian troops. With the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 there occurred nothing in Lettonia to improve the condition of the peasant. He was free, but he was landless, practically the entire country was owned by the small group of barons. The Letts were thus dependent upon their foreign masters for a living. There was little change in the agrarian situation in Lettonia in the period that elapsed between 1861 and 1917. More than two-thirds of Lettish lands are in the hands of the German nobility even now, although the nobles

comprise only four and a half per cent. of the population. They maintained their feudal grip in spite of the growth of civilization, the expansion of commerce, the development of cities, the rise of a large middle-class in Lettonia during the past half century.

In Courland two-fifths of all private lands are owned by 25 barons' families. Some of these estates are larger than the state of New Jersey or Massachusetts. There are families that own about a quarter of a million of acres. In Livonia conditions are even worse. Sixty-five per cent. of all the land there is owned by 740 estates. There is one landowner, Count von Wolf, who owns half a million acres! There are only about 50,000 small farms in Lettonia. "All farmers depend entirely on the landlords," writes J. Klawa. "Woods, waters, the rights of hunting and fishing (on the farmer's own land, no matter if it is paid for), are privileges of the barons only. The establishment of industries in the country and commerce are the rights of the barons. But that is not all. The farmers are obliged to bear all burdens of the commonwealth, such as repairing the roads, keeping up the schools, paying the wages of school-teachers, etc. The barons pay nothing."

Lettonia took a most prominent part in the Russian Revolution in 1905. Because of the cruel condition of the masses, the outbreak was more sweeping there than in the rest of the empire. It was a

rising, not only against Tsarism, but mainly against the Teuton barons. For a while the people were on top. The foreign masters that had dominated them for seven centuries were driven out of the country. But they soon returned with a Russian force, commanded by General Orlov, one of the most execrable hangmen of the Tsar. There followed a frightful series of massacres, executions and devastating deeds, unparalleled even in Russia during that period of repression. There were thousands of executions, many more thousands of arrests and banishments to Siberia. Hundreds of peasants' homes were burned.

During the World War Lettonia suffered terribly, being in the path of the great contending armies. With the permission of the Duma in July, 1915, the Letts organized and equipped a legion of their own and in the autumn of that year they took the field to defend their native land. On the other hand, the German barons welcomed the Prussian invaders. Many thousands of the inhabitants left their homes and moved eastward, fearing subjection by the Germans. When the Revolution broke out in March, 1917, it quickly reverberated in Lettonia. The Letts were ardent revolutionists and they were spiritually united with the Russian democracy. They proceeded to organize an autonomous government in those parts of their country that were unoccupied by the Prussian army. Around the Lettish legion rallied many

Letts that served in Russian regiments and the Lettish force became one of the bulwarks of the Russian Revolution. During Kerensky's fight against General Kornilov, the Lettish legions played a very important part in suppressing the rebel general. The same contingents went over to the Bolsheviki after the fall of Kerensky, and remained one of the mainstays of their rule.

In May, 1917, a congress of the Lettish socialist party, the chief political organization among the Letts, resolved that Lettonia should become an autonomous part of a federated Russia. When Russia concluded a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers, Germany, instigated by the Teutonic barons, claimed the greater part of Lettonia, to be set up under her protection, and she got it. The Letts were to be divided among Germany, Russia and perhaps Poland and Lithuania. The various Lettish parties then united and formed a national council, which issued the following remarkably vigorous proclamation, setting forth Lettonia's claims and rights:

"The Lettish nation, trusting in the victory of human justice and right, has paid a heavy sacrifice in blood and treasure in its tenacious struggle against German attempts at the conquest and enslavement of nations. Notwithstanding all this, the enemy troops succeeded, in February, 1918, in occupying the whole of Latvia (Lettonia). Her virile economic progress has been ruthlessly im-

peded, her vigorous intellectual life interrupted, and her productive farms and rich cities laid waste by fire.

"About 70 per cent. of the inhabitants of Latvia have left their homes either voluntarily or under compulsion, and they are now, for the most part, living in the vastnesses of Russia as refugees. Of the 800,000 inhabitants of Courland alone only 210,000 are still in territory temporarily in German occupation, and of the 550,000 inhabitants of Riga only 200,000 remain under the German yoke.

"The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty dealt a still heavier blow to Latvia. In accordance with this so-called peace treaty, Courland and Riga, together with its district, have been constituted German protectorates; the remaining parts of Livonia inhabited by Letts—that is, the districts of Wenden, Wolmar and Walk—are to be subject to German occupation until peace and order are restored in agreement with the wishes of the local population, whilst the Lettish province of Patgale has been separated from those cited above. Thus, the Lettish countries, peopled by one nation and possessing a common civilization and similar political and economic aims, are split up into three separate parts, between two different States, and are subjected to two totally different political régimes. The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty is an outrageous act of violence which directly threatens and aims at threatening the national, political and economic

existence of Latvia, and is one of the greatest crimes against civilization. Further, it is in direct contradiction to the principles of democracy and the right of self-determination as proclaimed by Germany herself before the conclusion of the treaty.

"Latvia has no political or national aims, no economic or cultural interests in common with Germany. Relying solely on their present military strength, the occupying authorities are doing everything in their power to impose upon Latvia German imperialism and militarism, and Latvia is already threatened with the fate of Posen and Alsace-Lorraine. Neither the Letts who have remained at home nor those who have returned to their country, or are still war refugees in chaotic Russia, have the slightest desire for annexation of Latvia by Germany.

"With the object of giving to their acts of violence an appearance of legality and morality the German authorities immediately set about the creation of the so-called Landesrats for each of these provinces of Latvia. Their members consist of chairmen of rural district councils and mayors appointed by the Germans, and of representatives of the German nobility. These bodies lay claim truly to represent and speak on behalf of Lettish political aspirations when making their decisions. The Landesrats are usurping the rights of the inhabitants of Latvia and speak solely in their own

names when they favor the annexation of Latvia to Germany. The Landesrats created by the occupational authorities have neither moral nor legal right to speak of or to decide questions concerning Latvia in the name of the Lettish nation. The Letts form eighty per cent. of the inhabitants of Latvia as compared with seven per cent. of Germans, and yet the Letts have a very small number of representatives in the Landesrats, fully two-thirds of the members of which are of German nationality, and of this two-thirds majority by far the greater number belong to the German nobility, which is also the landed proprietor class. As an instance of the respect which the Landesrats of the German nobility pay to Latvia's interests and aspirations may be cited their resolution to hand over Courland with all her treasure, and after all the sacrifices and blood of her sons, to the uses of German imperialism, while an instance of what understanding they have of the needs of the toiling people is afforded by a speech made in Berlin by the Reverend Bernewitz, a member of the Courland Landesrat and Superintendent of the Church of Courland, who stated that the soil of Courland was crying out for German colonists. At the present time 70 per cent. of Latvia's rural population are deprived of their own holdings for which they have long been, and are still, struggling.

"On 8 March, 1918, the Landesrat of Courland

resolved to re-establish the Duchy of Courland and offered her crown to the Hohenzollern dynasty. On 12 April the representatives of Riga, together with the united Landesrats of Livonia, Esthonia and the Island of Oesel, resolved to create a Baltic monarchy, and again, in this instance, her crown was offered to the German Emperor, who, in his capacity of King of Prussia, was to create a personal union between the kingdom of Prussia and the Baltic State. The German Government has now issued orders for a military and economic convention to be concluded between Germany and the Duchy of Courland.

"The geographical position of Latvia on the shores of the Baltic renders the question of Latvia one of international importance. It has not been solved by the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, and it cannot be solved by the Landesrats set up by the German authorities. It will have to be solved in conjunction with the Lettish nation and in accordance with the interests of present-day civilization at the General Peace Conference.

"On 4 April the Lettish National Council, which unites all the Lettish political parties, central communal institutions and public organizations, with the exception of the extreme Bolsheviks and a handful of Germanophile monarchists, addressed an energetic protest to the German Imperial Chancellor, Count Hertling. A similar protest was sent to Count Hertling and to the Commander

of the 8th German Army by the Provincial Council of Livonia, but so far the German Government has chosen to maintain silence with regard to the matter.

"All Lettish political parties without exception are united in the irreducible demand for the integrity and indivisibility of the territories of Latvia. At this fateful moment the Lettish National Council considers it to be its sacred duty to address to all nations and their governments its energetic protest against any attempt to partition Latvia's territories and against all the forgeries committed by the Landesrats. Simultaneously the Lettish National Council respectfully submits the following resolutions passed by it to all Allied and neutral governments:—

"(1) The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty of 3 March, 1918, by which an attempt was made to partition Latvia, represents an act of violence against the right of nations to self-determination (which right was recognized in Germany as a basis of the said treaty prior to its conclusion), and the said treaty must therefore be declared null and void.

"(2) The Lettish National Council denounces the decisions of the Landesrats as acts of political forgery.

"(3) The Lettish National Council is opposed to the annexation of Latvia to Germany, and also to any personal union with the kingdom of Prussia.

"(4) The Lettish National Council announces that any military and economic conventions, if any such be concluded between Germany and the Landesrats in Latvia, are hereby declared null and void by Latvia and the Letts.

"(5) The Lettish National Council protests against the curtailment of the freedom of the press, the right of free speech, of assemblies and all kinds of communication, of the suspension of personal rights and the illegal appointment by the occupational authorities of magistrates both in town and country districts throughout the whole of Latvia.

"(6) The Lettish National Council considers itself as the supreme representative authority for Latvia until war refugees have returned, and until the political constitution of Latvia is finally decided.

"(7) The Lettish National Council demands an independent and integral State of Latvia, to include all Lettish countries, secured by international guarantees."

The above-quoted document shows exactly where the Lettish people stood in their relation to Germany. And yet upon the collapse of the latter, the efforts made by the Letts to regain their land were thwarted for a time by the Allies, undoubtedly because of a misunderstanding of the Lettish problem. The government of the German barons, which had been sustained up to November

11, 1918, by Prussian bayonets, appealed to the Allies for support. Unfortunately Great Britain sent a fleet to Riga in response to their appeals. This threw the Lettish people straight into the arms of Bolshevist Russia, and with the co-operation of Russian forces they drove the foreigners out of their country and occupied Riga.

It would be nothing short of a moral disaster for the Allies to lend aid to the small group of Teuton landowners who had exploited Lettonia for centuries. Whatever the political views of the Letts, they are entitled to their country and cannot conceivably be turned over again to their oppressors. The Lettish peasants should, by all means, be provided with sufficient land to allow them to live and develop as freemen. As to the future international status of Lettonia, there are several possible solutions. There is a Polish clique which aims to create a union of all the small Baltic states, to be dominated by a Greater Poland, for the sake of cutting Russia off from the Baltic. The Teutonic nobility of Lettonia would place the country under the protectorate of an imperial Prussia. A section of Lettish opinion favors a union with Lithuania. Another section favors the establishment of an independent, sovereign Lettish state. However, the majority of the Letts were for making Lettonia an autonomous unit of an all-Russian democratic federation, realizing that the powerful

Russian nation to the east was badly in need of the Baltic ports and would ultimately regain them by force if not given access to it by their holders, chiefly the Letts and the Esths.

The ethnographic boundaries of Lithuania, Lettonia, Esthonia and Finland.

VIII

ESTHONIA

The Esths inhabit the former Russian province of Esthland and the northern part of the province of Livonia, as well as the islands of the Moon Sound and some adjoining sections of the provinces of Petrograd and Pskov. Esthonia, therefore, lies on the Baltic, its northern boundary being the Gulf of Finland. In the south it adjoins Lettonia. In the east it touches the western side of Lake Peipus. The population of Esthonia is approximately a million and a half. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are Esthonians.

The Esthonians, or Esths, are of Mongolian origin and belong to the Finnish family. By religion they are closely connected with the Letts, both nationalities professing Lutheranism. They differ, however, from their southern neighbors in everything else, language, physical appearance and culture. The Esthonians and their northern kindred, the Finns, have much in common historically and physically. Their forefathers were a race of warriors of whom the Baltic seamen were afraid. In the twelfth century a Danish king attempted to

subdue them. He invaded their country and forced them to adopt Christianity. They resumed their heathenism, however, as soon as the Scandinavian invaders departed. In 1219 another Danish king, Waldemar II, was more successful in introducing Christianity into Esthonia, but after his death the Esths revolted and caused his successors so much trouble that Denmark sold the conquered portion of Esthonia to the Livonian Order of the Knights of the Sword who had already conquered Lettonia and the southern section of Esthonia.

After that the fate of the Esthonians was very similar to that of the Letts. Both were subjected by the Teutons and oppressed cruelly. It was this brotherhood in bondage that created the ties of intimate relationship now existing between the Letts and Esths, in spite of their racial difference. The two underwent the same treatment at the hands of the German nobility who form even now only two and a half per cent. of the Esthonian population. They reduced the peasants to a condition of virtual serfdom by controlling nearly all of the tillable land. In 1521 Esthonia came under Sweden's rule, which stimulated the development of the country and improved the condition of the peasants. Two hundred years later, in 1721, Esthonia was ceded to Russia by the Peace of Nystad. Alexander I abolished, in 1817, the institution of serfdom, guaranteeing the peasants the right of property, but

the German landlords distorted the law and reduced it to nothing.

The clergy, which is related by blood to the Teutonic aristocracy, coöperated with the latter in keeping the Esthonians in a state of submission. "If you are made a slave," read a typical proclamation of the priests to the Esthonian peasants in 1816, "serve with pleasure, and remember that it is not for everybody to be a master. One has received a great honor, another quite a small one. Do not be ashamed of rendering forced labor. When you do what you are commanded to do, you get honor enough from so doing. Remember Jesus, who obeyed and humbled himself even unto death. Do not despise your superiors, and when they are mistaken, remember that they, too, are men. Perform your forced labor and pay your taxes willingly."

But the oppression of the masters was so merciless that the Esthonians revolted in 1859. The rising was suppressed and the German landlords continued to exploit, with the help of the Russian authorities, the peasants. These Germans were the embodiment of all that was cruel in both the Teuton and Russian governing classes. Of them Bismarck said in 1867: "It is a generally recognized truth that the German who has become a Russian is worse than the Russian himself. The Russian steals because of immediate necessity, but when the German steals, he thinks of the future."

In the last forty years a campaign of Russification was inaugurated and carried on in Esthonia by the Tsar's government. Having clung to their tongue for more than six centuries under the Teutonic barons, the Esths were not to be Russified so easily. The efforts of the Russian authorities only stimulated them to revive their own language, possessed of literary and poetical qualities, and cultivate it more assiduously than ever. "They have a decided love of poetry," writes Prince Peter A. Kropotkin, "and exhibit great facility in improvising verses and poems on all occasions, and they sing everywhere from morning till night. Like the Finns, they possess rich stores of national songs." The latter were collected and published under the name of "Kalevi Poëg," bearing a striking resemblance to Finland's great national epic, the Kalevala.

The Esthonian literary revival entailed, of course, the growth of a national movement. The commercial development of the region, which assumed considerable importance as a gateway from Russia to the West, made for prosperity and the rise of a middle-class. Like Lettonia, Esthonia was the scene of a violent revolutionary outbreak in 1905, due to the same causes and resulting in the same fearful measures of repression. After the successful revolution of 1917, Esthonia was granted by the Russian Provisional Government a national diet, which was elected in July of that

year by universal suffrage and on the basis of proportional representation. It met in Reval and after a short struggle succeeded in wresting power from the baronial Landtags. After the overthrow of the Provisional Government by the Bolsheviki the diet proclaimed Esthonia's independence. A National Assembly met in January, 1918, and declared Esthonia a neutral country. It rejected the proposal of the Teutonic nobility to ask for German protection in the following resolution:

"All the political parties of Esthonia affirm that the Esthonian people in its entirety is opposed to the occupation of Esthonia by German troops and sees in such occupation a most cruel violation of its national sovereign rights. At the same time the whole nation wishes that all foreign troops be at once removed from Esthonian territory."

However, the nobles knew that their end was certain, unless the Germans came to their support. They therefore addressed a petition to Germany, inviting it to occupy Esthonia. The invitation was promptly accepted, the diet and Esthonian Provisional Government were suppressed, the reforms that were inaugurated were revoked, and the small group of Junkers, leaning on German troops, proceeded to restore the cruel rule of the days of Tsarism. The Esthonian language was prohibited, the press crushed, political activity suppressed. German mayors and governors were

appointed in place of those elected by the Esthonians. The nobility even started a reign of White Terror against the revolutionary working classes.

"The representatives of the Esthonian Provisioial Government in Stockholm on July 3, 1918, issued a strongly-worded protest against the barbaric German oppression," according to A. Piip. "This was not the first protest published by the Esthonians, as protests were issued against the right of the German barons to appeal for German troops to occupy the country, and also repudiating the right of the Landtags of nobility to speak on behalf of the Esthonian people. Protest was further made against the decision of the United Landesrat to ask for personal union with Prussia. The Esthonians have nothing in common, politically, with Germany; they desire neither annexation nor personal union; they claim their right to be independent, to be free of German domination, and also to be dissociated from the anarchic policy of the Great-Russians. Esthonia strongly protests against the violation of international laws, and even the restrictions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty are ignored."

The Esthonian Provisional Government appealed for recognition to the Allies in the spring of 1918. The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur J. Balfour, replied on May 3, as follows:

"His Majesty's Government greet with sympathy the aspirations of the Esthonian people, and are glad to reaffirm their readiness to grant provisional recognition to the Esthonian National Council as a de facto independent body until the Peace Conference, when the future status of Esthonia ought to be settled as far as possible in accordance with the wishes of the population. It would obviously be impossible for His Majesty's government at the present time to guarantee to Esthonia the right to participate at the Peace Conference, but at any such conference His Majesty's government will do their utmost to secure that the above principle is applied to Esthonia."

Recognition was also extended to the Esthonian National Council by the French and Italian governments. While this was occurring, Esthonia, it should be remembered, was under the control of a German force. The National Council and its representatives in the Allied countries had no power in Esthonia. Besides, it was elected during Kerensky's rule and represented an alignment of forces which, according to the claims of Esthonian labor leaders, underwent a great change in subsequent months.

When Germany surrendered to the Allies, the Esthonian nobility was confronted with the same situation as the Lettonian aristocracy. Both were of Teutonic origin. But there were two added elements in the Esthonian problem. First, its racial

community with Finland, where a semi-military government functioned. Second, the bonds that existed between Sweden and certain elements of the Esthonian middle and upper class. The Esthonian people were anxious to free themselves of their yoke, but discovered that the Allies had asked Germany to keep its troops in the Baltic provinces as a police force. This was a shock to the Esths, and many of them swung toward Bolshevist Russia, asking Moscow for support. On the other hand, the upper and middle classes sent out urgent appeals for aid to the Allies, to Sweden and the Finnish government. England sent a few warships to Reval, the Esthonian port, while Sweden and Finland despatched military expeditions to help the Esthonian bourgeoisie in its fight against the Esthonian proletariat which had obtained Bolshevist support.

The outcome of the struggle will depend on what will have transpired in Lettonia and Finland. The former had early in January, 1919, been captured by the Lettish-Bolshevist forces. If Finland's military government were to meet the same fate as that of the German baronial government of Lettonia, then Esthonia would be unable to maintain its middle-class government. Such a solution would place Esthonia's international status in the same position as that of Lettonia, i.e., autonomous national existence within the ranks of an all-Rus-

sian federation of states. Otherwise, it is conceivable that Esthonia would conclude an alliance with either Sweden or Finland, or both, and sever all connections with Russia.

IX

FINLAND

Finland was one of the few subject countries in Europe before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 which always attracted considerable attention abroad. In a very large measure it was due to Finland's high state of culture and its constitutional rights. The civilized world was aware that historically, ethnically and culturally Finland was a national entity for itself, entitled to the free development of its spiritual and economic resources.

Because of Finland's geographical position mainly, there is a mistaken general belief that the Finns are racially related to the Scandinavian peoples. The fact is that the Finns are a branch of the Mongolian race, and belong to the Finno-Ŭgrian linguistic family. There are numerous Finno-Ugrian tribes all over northern Russia. Large numbers of these Finns have been assimilated by the Russians. However, the inhabitants of Finland developed along individual lines, independent of their eastern relatives. As early as the seventh century the ancestors of the present

Finns invaded the peninsular Baltic territory which is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Finland and on the west by the Gulf of Bothnia. It was a marshy land, dotted with innumerable lakes. From the nature of the country the Finns got their native name—Suomilaiset—which translated into English means—"the people of the fens."

Christianity was first introduced into Finland about 1157, when King Eric IX of Sweden invaded the country, accompanied by a bishop and a number of priests, who remained in Finland to convert its inhabitants to Christianity. However, the Finlanders did not take quickly to the new faith and Sweden had to conquer the country again in the thirteenth century, in the course of which the Finns were Christianized and Finland completely subjugated by the Swedes. In 1293 the Swedish ruler, Porgils Knutsson, extended his power as far east as Viborg, which he founded. This brought him into conflict with the Russians. Later the Swedes pushed on farther eastward, but were unable to retain their hold. In the fourteenth century Finland was recognized as a dominion of Sweden, and the latter set itself to civilize the Finns. The Swedish language and Swedish laws and arts were introduced into the country, but the Finns were treated as equals by the Swedes, so that Finland really owes to Sweden its high state of civilization. A court of appeal was established in Finland in 1623 and a university founded in

1640. The justice with which Sweden governed Finland led to happy relations between the two peoples. Intermarriage was free, resulting in the course of many centuries in a considerable blending of both races. Yet, nevertheless, the Finnish peasants continued to speak their own tongue, although the upper classes and all the governmental institutions used Swedish. Early in the sixteenth century the Lutheran Church was established in Finland and in the beginning of the seventeenth century Gustavus Adolphus granted a diet to the Finns, composed of representatives of four estates, nobility, clergy, townsmen and peasants. Learning was encouraged and printing was fostered by the Swedish governors. Thus, when the university was founded by Governor Per Brahe, he urged Swedish professors to study Finnish, which, he said, "does not lack a certain elegance in its construction and does honor to the country."

In the course of the seventeenth century Finland was visited by terrible pestilences, accompanied by famine. The country had been impoverished during the Thirty Years' War, and with the subsequent decline of Sweden, it became the battlefield for contending armies. Already Peter the Great, who built St. Petersburg, launched his policy of Russian expansion along the Baltic. From 1710 to 1721 the Russian armies gradually penetrated and occupied all Finland. By the

Peace of Nystad, of 1721, Sweden ceded to Russia the southeastern corner of Finland. When the Russians withdrew and the refugees began to return, they found, according to one historian, "the roads destroyed, the bridges broken, no horses, no food, the whole country a desert. The houses were either burned down or roofless and windowless, their contents sacked; the wells were filled up with earth, the ploughlands were overgrown with forests, birds had their nests in the abandoned churches. The university was closed between 1710 and 1722, and other important institutions suffered acutely during the same period."

Finland's recuperative powers were, however, so great as to restore normal conditions in a brief time. Peace did not last long in Finland after 1721. The Swedes made an effort to regain the territory conquered by Peter the Great, but failed miserably, so that they were even compelled to cede some more Finnish territory to Russia in 1743. This dismemberment of Finland, due to Swedish weakness, roused in the Finns a national spirit. It was natural for them to develop a sense of independence, as the power of Sweden decreased and that of Russia grew. The Finnish national movement may therefore be said to date from the eighteenth century, although it did not attain its climax till a century later. This movement first aimed at the liberation of the Finns from the cultural Swedish domination. The Fin-

nish language, which is totally foreign to the Swedish, but which had been suppressed, was now revived and propagated. The first known writer in Finnish was Michael Agricola, who published a number of books, including the first Finnish translation of the New Testament, about the middle of the sixteenth century. For two hundred years afterwards Swedish was the dominant literary tongue of the country. However, toward the end of the eighteenth century a Finnish scholar, Henrik Porthan, initiated a movement for the study of Finnish history and philology, inspiring several young followers to lead in the resurrection of Finnish culture.

The Swedish monarchs fought for the reconquest of the parts of Finland captured by Russia. They were not successful in their attempts, succeeding only in devastating and impoverishing Finnish lands. In 1808-9, a great struggle between Sweden and Russia developed. The Finns, recognizing Sweden's impotence, accepted the offer made by Alexander I of Russia to enter the Russian empire as an autonomous grand duchy. A diet met in Finland to pass upon the proposal, and agreed to become part of Russia on condition that Alexander I solemnly recognize the Finnish Constitution, and pledge himself to preserve Finland's religion, laws and liberties. The Russian emperor personally attended the diet and confirmed the Finnish Constitution. He was greeted

as the Grand Duke of Finland and won the gratitude of the Finns. The Russians created a Finnish Senate, for administrative and judicial purposes. A Russian Secretary of State for Finland was appointed by Alexander. The secretary was Russia's famous Liberal statesman of that time, Speransky. On March 15-27, 1809, Alexander issued, while at Borga, the following proclamation, which, together with another manifesto issued later, formed the charter of Finland's autonomy:

"We, Alexander the First, by the Grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russians, etc., do make known:—

"That Providence having placed us in possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, we have desired hereby to confirm and ratify the religion and fundamental Laws of the Land as well as the privileges and rights which each class in the said Grand Duchy in particular, and all the inhabitants in general, be their position high or low, have hitherto enjoyed according to the Constitution. We promise to maintain all these benefits and laws firm and unshakable in their full force. In confirmation whereof we have signed this Act of Assurance with Our own hand."

When Russia took over Finland, the province of Viborg, previously annexed by Russia, was reunited with its mother-country. Speransky organized the Grand Duchy, writing to the Emperor at the conclusion of his labors: "Finland is a

State, not a province." Up to 1863 Finland's diet was not convoked again, its constitution making no provision for the regular meeting of the assembly. It was Alexander II, the Liberator, who summoned the representatives of the Finnish Estates. It was also he who promulgated a separate money system for Finland. When in 1873 Russia adopted the universal military service law, attempts were made by its sponsors to include the Finns in the Russian Army. However, Alexander II held that it was for the Finnish diet to make provisions for an army in Finland, which it did.

With the accession to the throne of Alexander III the reactionary and extreme nationalist Russian elements had their sway, and they found detached Finland a stumbling-block in their Pan-Slavic plans. Finland had to be Russified, such was the view of those imperialists. A campaign was begun by the Russian government in 1890, intended to wipe out gradually the autonomous Finnish departments. Many ordinances were passed suspending Finnish laws. Finally a crisis was reached in 1899, when Governor-General Bobrikov, in addressing the Finnish diet on behalf of the Tsar, spoke of the Finns as of Russian subjects and denied the diet's right to legislate for Finland. A new military law was proposed, whereby the Finnish army was to be dissolved and the Finnish soldiers incorporated in Russian units. Of course, the diet was unwilling to give its consent

to the bill. General Bobrikov then produced a manifesto from the Tsar, which in effect nullified Finland's constitution wherever the empire's interests were concerned.

As Finland's struggle for its constitutional rights was opening with this notorious manifesto, it may be pertinent to review the internal social activities of the country during the nineteenth century. When Finland entered the Russian empire in 1809, it also entered upon a century of peace, prosperity and intense cultural development. Having freed itself from the Swedish governmental domination through its joining of Russia, the Finns still found themselves in the grip of Swedish rule. All the administrative offices were held by Swedes or Finns who had become Swedes; all business was transacted in the Swedish language, the literature of the country was Swedish. The national movement therefore raised the banner of the revival of the Finnish language. "We are not Swedes, we don't want to become Russians, let us then be Finns," was the motto devised by a Finnish publicist. It was taken up by a group of young intellectuals, who became enamored of their country's "singularly rich and beautiful tongue," as a student of Finland puts it; "doctors and professors, visiting the people in lonely settlements, far up the lakes, or on the fringe of the vast Karelian forests, found them in possession of a wide store of legends, the strangest myth-

ology, and a fine and complex poetical form. The Finnish people began to think of their country as 'Suomi,' something utterly distinct from Sweden or Russia, having a language of its own."

However, the Finnish language was so backward a vehicle for expression in the early part of the eighteenth century that the first ideas of Finnish nationalism met with scorn and ridicule on the part of the educated classes. "To the aristocratic Swede, living the life of a country gentleman," writes Arthur Reade, "the talk of Finnish nationalists seemed at first utterly absurd and later on almost impious. The idea that the stolid-looking and rather unkempt Finn who worked on his estate and spoke a barbarous-sounding language should aspire to a practical equality with a race boasting a polished and ancient culture and an honorable name in history seemed preposterous. The Finns were regarded as ugly and stupid. When they desired Finnish to be the language of instruction in the schools, the Swedes replied that one simply could not imagine instruction being conveyed in so gross a tongue. The idea of a literature in Finnish seemed equally grotesque. No educated person would ever employ such a language. As to Finnish being used as the official language, this was pure madness."

To a considerable degree this was true a century ago. The man mostly responsible for the evolution of a Finnish literary tongue, thus furnishing

the backbone for the nationalist movement, was Elias Lönnrot. Born in 1802, a poet by nature, he early devoted himself to the collection of Finnish folk-poetry. For nearly twenty years he journeyed into the remotest corners of his country, gathering material for a national epic. The fruit of his labors was the famous "Kalevala," Finland's Homer, and one of the finest poetical treasures in the literature of the world. Around Lönnrot gathered the leaders of the rising generation. In 1854 he was prevailed upon to become professor of Finnish at the Helsingfors University. Ten years previous, however, the first Finnish periodical had already made its appearance, laying the foundation for the Fennoman (Finnish-Finn), as opposed to the Svekoman (Swedish-Finn), party. The country was thus divided into two camps. The Fennoman element had a hard uphill fight to make, as it was feared that the cultural isolation of Finland from both Russia and Sweden would prove harmful to it. But the nationalists soon obtained the support of Russia. Alexander II, after having received the leader of the Fennoman movement, Snellman, issued a rescript which made Finnish the equal of the Swedish language. This was really interference with the prerogatives of the Finnish diet, but it was brought about by the Finns themselves.

The language-conflict, however, was more than that. It was not only a racial and cultural strug-

gle between Finns and Swedes, but also an economic struggle between the labor class, almost exclusively Finnish, and the commercial and aristocratic classes, largely Swedish. This is why the imperial rescript of Alexander II did not settle the contest, as economic conditions were favorable toward its perpetuation. However, the Finns obtained the upper hand, mainly because the majority of the people were pure Finns.

When Russia embarked upon its policy of Russification in Finland, the Fennoman and Svekoman elements united to oppose the designs of Tsarism. Governor-General Bobrikov initiated a campaign of terrorization which reduced Finland's autonomy virtually to nothing. A Russian bureaucracy was planted and cultivated by Bobrikov and the Russian language was foisted on the embittered Finns. All the petitions and protests of the oppressed race were in vain. A national address to the emperor was secretly got up, to urge upon the Tsar the restoration of the constitution. It was an amazing revelation of Finnish national solidarity. More than half a million signatures were collected in ten days, every adult citizen, irrespective of sex, being permitted to sign. This enormous collection is still preserved. A deputation was quietly sent with the address to present it to the Tsar, but he refused to grant an audience.

While thus striving legally to regain their constitutional rights, the Finns also embarked upon

a clandestine revolutionary movement which, of course, was confined to the working and intellectual classes only. The first Socialist party appeared in Finland in 1899. It fought not only for freedom from Russian autocratic domination, but also for internal reforms. The assassination in 1903 of Governor Bobrikov was an act which naturally met with the approval of nearly all the popular elements of the country. The conservatives, however, did not look with favor upon the agitation of the Finnish Socialists for the revision of the Constitution,—an antiquated bill of rights of Swedish origin, antedating the French Revolution. The Finnish diet was still based on the four estates, being in fact a combination of a house of nobility, a house of clergy, a house of burghers, and a house of landed peasantry. The laborers, whether in town or country, had no representation in it.

The revolutionary year of 1905, which shook all Russia, stirred Finland profoundly. A general strike, simultaneous with the great Russian strike, gripped Finland in the fall of that year. It was a purely revolutionary affair. All public life was paralyzed. All means of communication, including postal and telegraph service, were suspended. The cities were without electricity. Shops, factories, schools were universally closed, with the exception of food stores. The Tsar, bowing before the spontaneous demonstration of popular feeling,

restored the Constitution and repealed all the illegal ordinances. With the external yoke removed, class strife assumed larger proportions and a deeper meaning. The labor element won the fight for a new constitution and an electoral system was promulgated which provided for universal adult suffrage, regardless of sex, and for proportional representation. The first popular diet met in 1907. There were eighty Socialists in this assembly, which comprised a total of two hundred deputies. There were nineteen women members. The extent of Socialist influence came as a revelation to the middle and upper classes. These clung to their places in the governmental machinery, especially since the municipal forms of government had not been modernized. The old fight between Fennoman and Svekoman was renewed as a struggle between labor and capital. In spite of this Finland prospered, progressing politically, economically and spiritually.

But reaction meanwhile raised its head in Russia. Following the revolution of 1905, the Russian autocracy resumed its policy of terrorization of its subject nationalities. There began in Finland what has been called "the second period of Russianization." Indeed, for a while it seemed incongruous that within a few miles from the seat of Tsardom, there should function an autonomous democracy so radical in its convictions. The Russian bureaucrats could get along with the Finnish

bureaucracy, as their identity of interests had been emphasized by the events of 1905; but how could they ever tolerate a diet virtually dominated by Socialists? Besides, Russia was entertaining designs on some Scandinavian warm-water port, as those of Russia were frozen the greater part of the year. It was necessary to Russianize Finland in order to lay the groundwork for a railway system there, pointing menacingly toward some Norwegian harbor. The Finnish diet became the first target of the Tsar's authorities. It was dissolved several times, and the emperor consistently vetoed all its bills, thus rendering them void. Every new election yielded a larger Socialist force in the Diet, provoking the imperial government further.

In 1908 Premier Stolypin, later assassinated in a theatre in the presence of the Tsar, proclaimed before the Duma that Finland's autonomy was not legislative, but local. He then proceeded to get the Tsar's assent to a proposal to empower the Russian Council of Ministers to pass upon all Finnish legislative and administrative affairs. Finland's protests were in vain. On the recommendation of the Russian Cabinet, the Tsar rejected practically all the laws promulgated by the Finnish Diet. In 1910 the Russian Council of Ministers appointed a commission which drew up a proposal that virtually abolished the authority of the Finnish Diet, making it a mere shell of a legislative institution. This "program" was ac-

cepted by the reactionary Duma and later made permanent. Western Europe was greatly agitated over the Russian treatment of Finland. Large sections of the British, French, German, Italian, Belgian and Dutch parliaments addressed memorials to the Duma, pointing out that the rights of Finland's constitution were historical and indisputable. The imperial "program" for Finland was not pressed in its entirety, mainly because of the commotion in Europe. A conference of international jurisconsults was held in 1910 "to examine the relations between Finland and Russia." It resolved that "Finland has the right to demand that the Russian empire should respect her constitution." It had the effect of consolidating European public opinion in favor of Finland.

It was not unnatural for the Finns to assume a pro-German attitude upon the outbreak of the Great War. They saw in the destruction or defeat of Russia their own deliverance. Unfortunately, the Entente powers did not try to influence the Tsar's government to relax its oppressive hold on the little northern country. The result was that the middle and upper classes began to look to Germany for the restoration of Finnish independence. Thousands of them emigrated to Germany and many thousands more entered the ranks of the German armies to fight against Russia, preparing the nucleus for a German-Finnish force to attack the Russians from the rear. This alliance

between the Finnish aristocracy and Germany proved of very portentous significance after the Russian Revolution.

In 1916 an election was held for the diet which resulted in the Socialists gaining a majority over the parties of the middle and upper classes. The spread of Socialism in Finland was extraordinary, embracing in its folds not only the industrial, but also the agricultural workers. The Trade Union membership alone reached seventy thousand, and this in a country whose entire population hardly approximated three million. Fourteen daily and fifty other journals voiced the demands of Finnish labor.

With the Russian Revolution came the revival of Finnish nationalist and socialist activities. The diet met in July, 1917, and declared itself in favor of an independent Finland. The upper classes, seeing in the establishment of Finnish independence a menace of socialism, assumed a pro-Russian attitude and induced the Provisional Government of Kerensky, who looked with apprehension at Finland's declaration of independence at a time when Russia was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, to dissolve the diet by force. A provisional government was then formed in Finland opposed to the Socialists, but it was overthrown by a rising of the workers, who were aided by the Russian Bolsheviki, in January, 1918. Then followed a bloody civil struggle between the hard

pressed White Guard and the victorious Red Guard. The former appealed for help to Sweden and then to Germany. "The greatest aid the Germans gave us," read the statement of a Finnish White Guard envoy in the United States, "was in scaring the Russian Bolsheviki. German intervention gave our General Mannerheim the priceless opportunity of organizing our armies, and we were supplied with enough munitions. We would never have appealed to the Germans if Sweden had not turned us down when we asked that country for arms. However, private firms in Sweden did supply us with rifles and munitions."

The civil strife turned into a reign of hideous terror on both sides. The Socialist government was forced to flee into Russia. A part of its forces joined the Allied expedition in the north, hoping in view of their opposition to the Finnish-German rule to induce the Allies to intervene on their behalf in Finland. Another part of the Socialists, the more radical element, fled into Bolshevik Russia, pleading for Lenine's support. Meanwhile the terror practiced by the White Guard in conjunction with the Germans, ostensibly in retaliation for the preceding reign of the Red Guard, attracted world-wide attention. The bitterness of the White Terror must be ascribed not only to the Germans, but also to the fact that the ruling class in Finland is of foreign, Swedish origin. According to the Scandinavian correspondent of the *Chi-*

cago Daily News, the Whites adopted the German exploitation of war prisoners as slaves, "with the difference that the Finns were penalizing their own fellow-countrymen, a proceeding without precedent in modern times." More than seven thousand Reds were tried in the Tammerfors Court and, branded as criminals, they were offered at wholesale to any farmer or contractor who applied for them. Many more thousands of Finnish workers were exported to Germany. The Finnish White government even went as far as inviting a German Prince to become King of Finland. But German fortunes in the war suddenly took a disastrous turn. The Whites thereupon proceeded to flirt with the Allies and delegated their commander, Mannerheim, to establish friendly relations with them. Both the Red and White governments established embassies abroad, attracting public attention to their opposite claims. After the collapse of the Central Powers, General Mannerheim succeeded in gaining British unofficial recognition of the White Guard government. The United States undertook to feed Finland.

The issue of the internal struggle in Finland and the ultimate form of government there cannot be doubted in view of the established fact that more than half of Finland's population is identified with labor and socialistic movements. Toward the close of 1918 a national congress of Finnish Socialists, excluding the Bolshevist faction,

urged that Finland should be a republic with all legislative powers in the hands of a diet and with a president elected by the diet every third year.

There can be no question as to the fitness of the Finnish people to govern themslves. Finland has the history of a parliamentary democracy back of it. More than ninety per cent. of the Finns are literate, and Finland boasts of a literature that is second to none. By habit, outlook and aspiration, the Finn is a cultured European, although of Asiatic blood. Finland's natural resources are extensive. Sixty-three per cent. of its surface area is covered with forests, and thanks to the country's numberless lakes and other waterways, Finland should develop an enormous timber industry. The reserves of granite in Finland are unparalleled in any other country. Finally, Finland is beautiful, in fact the most beautiful northern country in the world, which in times of peace and prosperity ought to attract a large tourist trade.

Part II

THE RESURRECTED NATIONS IN ASIA

I

ARABIA

Early in 1916 the world was startled by the report that the Arabs, led by the Grand Shereef of Mecca, revolted against the Turks and cleared the northern part of the Arabian Red Sea littoral of Ottoman troops. This was followed by reports of a wide national movement in Arabia. A declaration of independence was issued by the Grand Shereef, proclaiming Arabia's separation from Turkey. Then, when General Allenby undertook his expedition into Syria, it became known that an Arab force coöperated with the British army, contributing considerably to the Turkish rout.

The Arabs of the fallen Turkish Empire inhabit the vast territory lying between the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the east; the Red Sea and the Mediterranean on the west; the Arabian Sea on the south, and Armenia and Kurdistan on the north. About twelve million Arabs, divided into innumerable tribes and sects, live here. Only three sections of this territory have developed sufficiently to claim national rights; they are Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Hejaz. Arabian national-

ism first manifested itself in Syria toward the end of the nineteenth century in the form of a Pan-Arabian movement. In 1895 an Arabian National Committee, formed in Paris, issued a manifesto which said, in part:

"The Arabs . . . are awakened to their historical national and ethnographical homogeneousness, and aim to separate themselves from the Ottoman body and form an independent state. This new Arabian state will be confined to its natural boundaries, from the Tigris and the Euphrates to the Suez Canal, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Sea of Oman. It will be governed by a liberal constitutional monarchy of an Arabian Sultan."

Various forces prevented the successful propagation of Pan-Arabian nationalism. The policies of the Great Powers in the Near East tended to erect separate spheres of influence in the lands populated by the Arab. France was interested in Syria, especially in the Lebanon. Zionism strove to restore Palestine to the Jews. Great Britain was seeking to extend its influence over Mesopotamia, in order to secure its Indian possessions from German aggression by the way of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad. The movement for an independent Arabia was thus confined to the isolated province of the Hejaz, in which the holy cities of Mecca and Medina are located. It was here that rebellion against Turkey finally raised its head

and brought the problem of Arabia forcefully before the court of world opinion.

Premier Lloyd George announced on January 5th, 1918, a solution of the problem of nationality in Turkey which explicitly recognized the claims of the Arabs in West Arabia, Mesopotamia and Syria. He said: "While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions." This statement of the British Prime Minister defined Arabia as a political term, comprehending the Hejaz and the adjoining provinces only, and excluding Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. And it is in this narrow sense that the word Arabia is employed in these pages.

The Arabs are Semites, and their land is said to have been the cradle of the Semitic race. It is from Arabia that the early settlers of Babylonia, Assyria and Palestine came. A thousand years before the Christian era several kingdoms were established in Arabia. At the time of the rise of Islam the various Arabian lands were governed by numerous chiefs. Many of the Arab tribes were nomadic, wandering from one part of the country to another. A number of Jewish tribes, appar-

ently immigrants from Palestine, were found in Arabia as early as the sixth century.

Mohammed appeared more than thirteen centuries ago. He was born in Mecca, but made his capital Medina. It was from there that he started the movement to introduce his creed into all Arabian and non-Arabian lands. It is not generally realized that Mohammed's religious teaching was closely identified with Arabian nationalism. Arabia for the Arabs, was the watchword of the Prophet. Around him gathered a party of adherents who adopted his religion as well as his national idea. He succeeded in capturing Mecca, and this helped him greatly in extending his rule over the neighboring lands. At his death Arabia was a united country.

Mohammed's successor, Abu Bekr, was the first to assume the title of Caliph. As such he continued the Prophet's policy of spreading Islam and imposing it on the neighboring states, Persia and Byzantium. At the same time, his domestic rule was such as to consolidate the various tribes under the banner of the Caliphate. By diverting their attention to foreign lands he succeeded in preserving peace among themselves. Omar, who followed Abu Bekr, was perhaps the best typification of a nationalist Caliph. Indeed, it was the main task of his great career to establish a system of government based on justice and to strengthen the internal bonds that made for a strong Arabia.

Omar was, however, not only a brilliant ruler of his country, but extremely successful as a Caliph, carrying the wars that his predecessors had launched to victorious conclusions. In his war against the Byzantine Empire he invaded Syria, capturing Damascus in 635 and Jerusalem in 636. Four years later his armies conquered Egypt and took Alexandria. Persia was completely overrun by the Moslems during his rule. He even dispatched a fleet to the Abyssinian coast, to protect the followers of Islam there, but it was wrecked, and Omar never tried to build another in its stead, although his successors did create an Arabian navy.

The united Arabian state did not last long. Arabia's sons spread out in every direction, building new cities and states in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, where they acquired wealth and power. Wherever they settled, they established Mohammedanism, sometimes after prolonged struggles. While this was going on, feuds developed in Arabia proper, which weakened its position as an active force in the propagation of Mohammedanism. The center of Moslem life shifted from Mecca and Medina, which were too remote from the then existing civilized world, to various places in the conquered lands, as they attained in turn their maximum of power. The Caliphate went where Islam flourished, changing in the course of centuries several seats. Arabia still re-

mained the holy land, the birthplace and grave of the Prophet, and as such it attracted enormous numbers of pilgrims annually, who brought with them wealth to the country. But Arabia ceased to be a living power in Islam. It lost its prestige as a strong national entity, and gradually declined as a state. Protection, however, had to be accorded the vast gatherings from all over the world that poured into the sacred Mohammedan cities. It was this that gave birth to the Shereefate of Mecca. There were numerous descendants of the Prophet in Mecca and Medina. This posterity became a sort of nobility, the head of each family bearing the name of "Sharif," which, in Arabian, means "the noble." Several of these families became powerful about 1000 A. D., and from 1200 one house of descendants from Ali, the nephew of Mohammed, managed to keep itself in office. The ruling Shereef is addressed by his people, "Our Master," and is virtually a king, provided he is capable of extending his domain over the turbulent tribes in the vicinity. The Shereefs have not always been able to control Medina, to safeguard the routes along which the pilgrims came to the holy land, or to suppress the various claimants to the Shereefate.

The international status of the Shereefate was never clearly defined. The Caliphs of the newly arisen Moslem powers "neither expressly recognized nor expressly objected to the Shereefate as

unlawful," observes Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje; "its century-long existence attained moreover a sort of virtual legitimacy through its acceptance by many Moslem tribes, who were represented in the holy city by the annual deputations of pilgrims. These visitors were constantly exposed to ill-treatment on the part of the Shereef. Yet, in spite of that, they held to a belief that domination over the Holy City belonged rightfully to a branch of the Holy Family. The fact was simply accepted as irrefutable."

Religiously, the holy land was, of course, subject to the Caliphate. When two Caliphs appeared in Islam, the one of Mecca having moved to Damascus and finally to Bagdad, and the so-called heretical Caliphate established in Egypt, the Shereef of Mecca had a hard time of it. The two were soon wiped out by the Mongols and the Sultans took over their spiritual position. Beginning with the thirteenth century the Egyptian Sultans exercised a virtual protectorate over the Hejaz, their rule lasting until the sixteenth century. The conquest of Egypt by the Turks passed the protectorate over the Shereefate to the Ottoman Sultans. When the Turks became the most powerful nation in Islam, their rulers adopted the title of Caliph. Having conquered practically the entire Middle East, the Turks allowed the pashas of their subjugated lands to exercise almost dictatorial rights. The governors of Syria, Mesopo-

tamia and Egypt all aimed to win the protectorate over the holy land. This led to deep discontent among the Wahhabis of Central Arabia, zealous Moslems, who considered that the Turks and their governors had dishonored Islam by making the holy cities the bone of contention. They declared a Jihad (holy war) against the Turks, which was so popular that for a time the Hejaz was freed from Turkish domination and the Shereefs compelled to recognize the rebels' authority. It was after tremendous exertions that the Turks, through the Pasha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, succeeded in recapturing the holy land. The Shereef was then deposed and exiled for countenancing the Wahhabis and a new Shereef appointed. This was accomplished in 1813.

The Shereefate continued to exist under the Sultan's suzerainty, and the Egyptian Khedive's immediate protection. The former tightened his grip on the Hejaz, trying to convert it into a regular province. The Shereefate's rights were gradually abrogated and there developed a conflict which did not end until 1880. Even after that year the exact administrative and sovereign rights of the Shereef and the Sultan in the holy land were not clearly fixed. The authority of each depended on the character of the Turkish governor, on the one hand, and the Shereef, on the other. Sometimes one attained the mastery, sometimes the other. In 1908, with the Turkish Revolution,

both the Turkish governor and the Shereef were swept out of office, and compelled to go into exile.

For awhile it seemed as if Turkey was to give its subject nationalities an opportunity to develop along autonomous lines. The Arabs were among those who had expected great things from the Revolution. They had a considerable representation in the Turkish parliament, where they organized the Arabian Club, which included those elements among the Arabs who were imbued with nationalism. However, the Young Turks turned their power against cultural autonomy for the races making up Turkey. They embarked upon the notorious policy of Ottomanization which quickly and rudely awakened these races to a realization of their condition. The Armenians, the Arabs and others resumed their nationalist agitation. The Hejaz became a center of discontent, which found its opportunity after Turkey's entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers.

Perhaps the chief cause of the rebellious spirit in the Hejaz after 1914 was not so much spiritual as material. The holy land extracted its living from the annual streams of pilgrims, coming from Africa, India, Russia, and Turkey itself. The Great War dried up these sources of revenue, which was a mighty weapon in the hands of Shereef Husein, Emir of Mecca, and his Westernized sons who had been identified with the Pan-Arabian national movement. When the Central Powers

induced the Turkish government to make use of the Sultan's authority as Caliph, and declare a holy war against the Allies, they only promoted the decline of Turkey in Islam. The fact is that the Sultan's claim to the Caliphate has never been fully acknowledged by the Arabs, nor by the Moslems of India and Russia. When the Young Turks appeared in the saddle in 1908 and initiated a number of measures tending to modernize social life in Turkey, they inevitably antagonized the religious authorities. Especially was this antagonism manifest in the holy land, giving an added reason to the Shereef to militate against Constantinople. Young Turkish rule, therefore, weakened enormously the Sultan's authority as Caliph over Islam. The Jihad thus fell flat. It stimulated the Grand Shereef, however, to renew his never-pressed claim as a descendant of Mohammed to the Caliphate. With the Turkish armies engaged on the European and Caucasian battlefields, the stage was set for Arabia's revolution.

Under the immediate command of the three sons of the Shereef, military operations were begun against Turkey. Mecca was cleared of Ottoman troops and officials, and Medina besieged. Jeddah, Arabia's main port on the Red Sea, and Kinfuda, another port further south, were captured by the rebels. The roadbed of the Hejaz railway was destroyed for a distance of a hundred miles, in order to render it difficult for Turkey to send an

army to combat the revolutionists. The Turks were too busy on other fronts to suppress the rebels of Hejaz, giving them an opportunity to consolidate and increase their forces. For once the surrounding tribes sank their differences and rallied to the banners of the revolution. Even more remarkable was the response of the remote and semi-independent Arabian kingdoms to the Shereef's call. A wave of patriotism united the Arabs, a thing which had not happened since the days of Mohammed and his immediate successors. The Grand Shereef then found his opportunity to declare Arabia's independence, in a remarkable document which read partly as follows:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, this is our general proclamation to all our Moslem brothers. O God, judge between us and our people in truth; Thou art the Judge.

"The world knoweth that the first of all Moslem princes and rulers to acknowledge the Turkish Government were the Emirs of Mecca the Blessed. . . . For, in truth, they were one with the Government until the Committee of Union and Progress rose up, and strengthened itself, and laid its hands on power. Consider how since then ruin has overtaken the State, and its possessions have been torn from it, and its place in the world has been lost, and now it has been drawn into this last and most fatal war.

"All this they have done, being led away by

shameful appetites, which are not for me to set forth, but which are public and a cause for sorrow to the Moslems of the whole world, who have seen this greatest and most noble Moslem Power broken in pieces and led down to ruin and utter destruction. Our lament is also for so many of its subjects, Moslems and others alike, whose lives have been sacrificed without any fault of their own. Some have been treacherously put to death, others cruelly driven from their homes, as though the calamities of war were not enough. Of these calamities the heaviest share has fallen upon the holy land. The poor, and even families of substance, have been made to sell their doors and windows, yea, even the wooden frames of their houses, for bread, after they had lost their furniture and all their goods. Not even so was the lust of the Union and Progress fulfilled. They laid bare all the measure of their wicked design, and broke the only bond that endured between them and the true followers of Islam. They departed from their obedience to the precepts of the Book.

"For this it has been clearly our part and our necessary duty to separate ourselves from them and renounce them and their obedience. Yet we would not believe their wickedness, and tried to think that they were the imaginings of evil-doers to make a division between us and the Government. We bore with them until it was apparent to all men that the rulers of Turkey were Enver

Pasha, Jemal Pasha, and Tallaat Bey, who were doing whatsoever they pleased. They made their guilt manifest when they wrote to the Judge of the Sacred Court in Mecca traducing the verses in the Surah of the Cow, and laying upon him to reject the evidence of believers outside the Court and to consider only the deeds and contracts engrossed within the Court. They also showed their guilt when they hanged in one day twenty-one of the most honorable and enlightened of the Moslems. . . . To destroy so many, even of cattle, at one time would be hard for men void of all natural affection or mercy. And if we suppose they had some excuse for this evil deed, by what right did they carry away to strange countries the innocent and most miserable families of those ill-fated men? Children, old men, and delicate women bereft of their natural protectors were subjected in exile to all foul usages and even to tortures, as though the woes they had already suffered were not chastisement enough. . . .

"We leave the judgment of these misdeeds, which we have touched upon so briefly, to the world in general and to Moslems in particular. What stronger proof can we desire of the faithlessness of their inmost hearts to the Religion, and of their feelings towards the Arabs, than their bombardment of that ancient House, which God has chosen for His House, saying, 'Keep My House pure for all who come to it'—a House so

venerated by all Moslems? From their fort of Jyad, when the revolt began, they shelled it. . . . We leave all this to the Moslem world for judgment.

"Yes, we can leave the judgment to the Moslem world; but we may not leave our religion and our existence as a nation to be a plaything of the Unionists. God has made open for us the attainment of freedom and independence and has shown us a way of victory to cut off the hand of the oppressors, and to cast out their garrison from our midst. We have attained independence, an independence of the rest of the Ottoman Empire, which is still groaning under the tyranny of our enemy. Our independence is complete, absolute, not to be laid hands on by any foreign influence or aggression, and our aim is the preservation of Islam and the uplifting of its standard in the world. We fortify ourselves on the noble religion which is our only guide and advocate in the principles of administration and justice. We are ready to accept all things in harmony with the Faith and all that leads to the Mountain of Islam, and in particular to uplift the mind and the spirit of all classes of the people in so far as we have strength and ability."

One of the first acts of the new Arabian kingdom was to establish diplomatic relations with the Allied governments. France sent a delegation to Mecca to congratulate the Grand Shereef on the

liberation of his country, and England and France recognized his government. A modern council of ministers was set up and the holy land, for the first time in centuries, found itself under a decent administration. Mecca was thoroughly cleaned, a newspaper was established there, schools were founded and a modern army organized. Arabian forces helped Great Britain in its campaign in Mesopotamia. Even Arabian aviators fought the Turks. When Baghdad was captured by the British the Emir of Mecca sent a congratulatory message to the British High Commissioner in Egypt, praying that God grant "victory and success to all those who are defending justice, civilization and the liberty of nations."

Shereef Feisul, the third son of Emir Husein of Mecca, commanded the Arab force which operated in the rear of the Turks east of the Jordan, and occupied Damascus before General Allenby reached it. It is quite possible that without the Arab army outflanking it, the Ottoman army's debacle in Syria would not have occurred. General Feisul was sent by his government to Paris and London, to present his people's claims to the Allies and the United States. It is the hope and aim of the government of the Hejaz to become a nucleus for a united Arabian state, including Mesopotamia and Syria. "The Arabs ardently desire national independence," a correspondent quoted the Shereef Feisul, and added: "Owing to

the existence of an Anglo-French agreement, made long before the importance of the Arabs as a military factor was realized, they fear that their nationalistic longings may not receive that consideration in the peace settlement to which they think they are entitled. Feisul therefore pins his hopes on Mr. Wilson. Surely, the Great War which has revealed so many strange things witnessed nothing else so epoch-making and so unexpected as the spectacle of a great Arab chieftain who traces his lineage directly back to the Moslem Prophet, waiting in Western Europe for the President of the United States, who is now looked upon by the Arab nation as their friend and protector."

According to the understanding reached early in 1915 between France and Great Britain, the independence of the Arabian kingdom of the Hejaz was recognized by both countries, but Mesopotamia was placed under British control and Syria under French. Arabian nationalism, however, aims at the creation of a united Arabian state, wherein it comes in conflict with the interests of the French government and the aspirations of a portion of the inhabitants of Syria. The Moslems of Syria are in sympathy with the Pan-Arabian movement, and are supported by Great Britain. On the other hand, the majority of the Christian Syrians, especially in the Lebanon, desire autonomy under a French protectorate.

The relations between the new Arabia and the Zionists of Palestine are very friendly. While the Christian Syrians are generally opposed to a Jewish Palestine, the Arabs of the Hejaz are in full accord with the Zionist leaders. An entente was even concluded between Dr. Weitzman, the head of the Zionist Commission in Palestine, and Prince Feisul, representing the Arab government, in June, 1918. Even more cordial relations were established between the Arabs and Armenians. The former, operating east of the Jordan, rescued a number of Armenian refugees, men, women, and children, deported by the Turks to the Syrian desert. Boghos Nubar Pasha, head of the Armenian Delegation, sent the following message to Shereef Feisul:

"To the noble born Emir Feisul,—We have just learned of the rescue of our unfortunate fellow-countrymen through the efforts of your gallant troops in Southern Syria. May God bless and prosper the progress of your arms. The chivalrous act of the noble Moslems who fight under your banners adds fresh luster to the annals of the Arab race. Every Armenian throughout the world is to-day an ally of the Arab movement; the praises of your clemency and the justice of your cause shall be known wherever we can make our voices heard."

The Lord Mayor of London and the English Friends of Armenia also sent congratulatory mes-

sages to Emir Feisul. A reply was received from the King of the Hejaz which, coming from the chief religious authority in Mecca, throws a new light on Mohammedanism as practiced in the new Arabia. It read:

"Your kind message to Feisul, of which I have heard, is a proof of good will and affection. We pray God to make us worthy of your kind thoughts. Feisul, in assisting the oppressed, has only performed one of the first duties of our religion and of the Arabs' faith. I say with confidence and pride that the Armenian race and other races in similar plight are regarded by us as partners in our fortunes in weal and woe. We ask God before everything to give us strength to enable us to do them helpful service by which to prove to the world the true feelings of Islam, whose watchword is freedom. May God preserve you in health and bring your desires to a successful attainment by His help and favor."

II

PALESTINE

The Jews are unique among the resurrected nationalities of the world. They are the only race not in physical possession of its motherland to rise to nationhood. Scattered all over the earth, inhabiting every country of the Old and New World, the Jews have retained their racial characteristics in all foreign environments. Since the day they went into exile, more than eighteen centuries ago, they never ceased to pray for their return to the Land of Israel. Although regarded by the nations among whom they lived as a religious sect, the Jews, in fact, were always a people with distinct national aspirations. It is only in recent years that portions of the Jewish race in the West began to abandon their nationalism and keep their identity as a religious group only. But of the twelve million Jews in the world, there are hardly more than a million who have completely assimilated themselves with their adopted countries. The rest may not all be ardent nationalists anxious to return to Palestine, but they are all

Jewish nationals by nature, being exiles in spirit and strangers wherever they live or go.

The preservation of the Jew in exile will always remain one of the marvels of history. The last Jewish state disappeared in A. D. 70, when the Roman general Titus captured Jerusalem, but the end of Jewish political hopes did not come till sixty-five years later. In 132 the Jews of Palestine rebelled against Rome under the leadership of Bar Cochba, who was declared to be the Messiah by the leading rabbi of the time. The rebellion was at first successful, Jerusalem was freed, the Temple partly restored, and many of the Jews who had left the Holy Land rallied around the banner of Bar Cochba. However, his rule did not last more than three and a half years. A powerful Roman army finally defeated the rebels in 135, after desperate resistance, in which six hundred thousand Jews perished in battle.

The Dispersion really began with the destruction of this last Jewish political government, although large colonies of Jews were already scattered throughout the Roman Empire. Jerusalem became a forbidden city, where no Jew was allowed. The remnant of the Palestinian Jewry erected several centers of learning north of the capital. The task of these rabbinical schools was to evolve a set of laws interpreting the Old Testament which would keep the Jews from losing their faith and national aspirations in Dispersion. A

similar seat of learning came into existence in Babylonia, then a Persian dominion. A large Jewish colony there for a time attained self-government under the leadership of the exilarch, who claimed descent from the house of David. The Babylonian Jews, like those of Palestine, devoted themselves to the study of jurisprudence. The result was two sets of the Law, or Talmud, one called the Jerusalem and the other the Babylonian edition.

While the religious-national force created by the rabbis undoubtedly was a great factor in preserving the Jews in Dispersion, especially in the first centuries of our era, an economic force soon developed which contributed greatly to the same effect. Torn from their soil, persecuted and driven from place to place, the Jews were compelled to turn to trading as a means for daily existence. Thus developed the Jewish aptitude for business. It was encouraged by the conditions which the Christian communities among whom the Jews lived imposed upon them. The segregation of the Jews, the creation of certain quarters in the ancient cities for this wandering race, naturally promoted their seclusion and their cohesion, as well as their devotion to traditions and prejudices which in other circumstances would have gradually vanished.

The Jews spread westward, to Byzantium, Rome, France, Spain. The rise of Mohammedan-

ism and the Arabian tide gave strong impetus to the Jewish Dispersion, although the Jews fared much better under the Arabs than among the Christians. The Arabs overran, and settled in, the surrounding countries. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Morocco, Spain became Arab dominions. The Jews in Mesopotamia contributed greatly to the magnificent civilization which arose in Baghdad, under the caliphate, in the Middle Ages. In science and in trade they were among the leaders, and their brethren in Spain achieved even greater success. "The distinctive feature of the Spanish-Jewish culture," writes Israel Abrahams, "was its comprehensiveness. Literature and affairs, science and statecraft, poetry and medicine, these various expressions of human nature and activity were so harmoniously balanced that they might be found in the possession of one and the same individual. The Jews of Spain attained to high places in the service of the state from the time of the Moorish conquest, in 711. . . . So, too, the greatest Jew of the Middle Ages, Maimonides, was a Spaniard. In him culminates the Jewish expression of the Spanish-Moorish culture; his writings had an influence on European scholasticism and contributed significant elements to the philosophy of Spinoza." (Encyclopædia Britannica.)

Christian persecution of the Jews assumed an organized form during the Crusades. In France,

Germany and England colonies of Jews had been established early and were the sole agents of trade between the East and the West. The Crusades not only resulted in hundreds of Jewish massacres, due to the religious frenzy of the Christians, but also brought with them economic ruin to the Jews. A class of traders sprang up among the Christians which soon found itself in competition with the Jewish settlers. This economic cause was one of the leading forces responsible for the suffering of the Jews in Dispersion in the past thousand years. The Jew came to a country and was encouraged by its rulers to engage in trade. After playing the rôle of the commercial pioneer, he found himself sooner or later surrounded by natives who had learned to compete with him. Then the Christian traders would resort to all means to bring about the persecution or expulsion of the Jew from their midst.

Not infrequently the Jews would be expelled from a country and soon afterward invited again by its rulers. The latter were always in need of money. The Church, by prohibiting Christians to engage in money-lending and restricting the occupations open to the Jews, forced the Jews to turn to usury. In some countries this was the only trade they were allowed to engage in, so that the reigning houses utilized the Jews for the purpose of extracting from their subjects the funds necessary to sustain their courts. The money that the

Jew accumulated by usury went to the royal family, but the stigma of usurer and the hatred of the populace were fastened upon him.

Where the Jew was given a free opportunity to live, he soon proved a builder of commercial empires. Baghdad reached its powerful position in civilization under the rule of the tolerant caliphs, when the Jews enjoyed full liberty of conscience and action. Portugal and Spain became great civilized empires when the center of Jewish life shifted there. The Inquisition, which resulted in the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Jews and the death of tens of thousands more, was the greatest blow to Spain and Portugal themselves. The Jewish rabbis anathematized the two countries, and to this day no orthodox Jew will step on their soil. With the departure of the Jews, many of whom had been forcibly baptized, the decline of Portugal and Spain set in, so that to-day these two countries are the most impoverished in Europe. All the recent efforts of the Spanish government to cause an influx of Jews into Spain proved futile, so deep-seated is the Jewish memory of the Inquisition.

From Portugal and Spain the Jew went in large numbers to Holland, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Turkey. With the arrival of the Jews, welcomed by the Dutch government, the Netherlands rapidly rose to the first maritime power in the world, superseding Portugal and

Spain. England, after having expelled the Jews in the fifteenth century, now adopted a friendly attitude, and in 1655 Cromwell reached an agreement with the leading rabbi of Amsterdam, Manasseh ben Israel, whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Great Britain. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews who settled in England contributed no small share to the building of the British Empire. Meanwhile the Jews in the East were suffering persecution. They were herded in ghettos and restricted in the commonest rights. Their only means of existence in such countries as Poland and Germany, for instance, was to buy the favor of the various ruling princes and magnates. Hated by the people, despised by their royal and feudal protectors, the Jew had to rely on his wits and developed certain traits of character which have not entirely disappeared yet in those countries, such as Rumania, Poland, Russia, where he is still smarting under religious, political or economic disabilities.

The emancipation of the Jew really began toward the end of the eighteenth century, although in such countries as England, Holland, Italy and especially Turkey the Jew had previously enjoyed much freedom. The American Revolution gave considerable impetus to the movement. A Jew, Robert Morris, played a leading rôle in the founding of this Republic, as financier of the War of Independence. It was due to loans secured by

him from the French and to money advanced by himself and borrowed on his credit that Washington was enabled to transfer his army from Dobbs Ferry to Yorktown in 1781. In the same year, in distant Austria, Emperor Joseph removed many of the disabilities binding the Jews, allowing them to learn handicrafts, to study arts and sciences, and to some extent even to engage in agriculture.

Then came the French Revolution. In 1807 Napoleon summoned a Jewish Assembly in Paris. The revolutionary movement throughout Europe in 1848 resulted in the complete emancipation of the Italian, Austrian and Scandinavian Jews. Only in Russia, where the bulk of the Jews found themselves after the annexation of the greater part of Poland by the Tsars, and in Rumania, were the Jews deprived of elementary rights and allowed to live only in certain limited areas. During the reign of Nicholas I, the "Iron Tsar," cruel attempts were made to Russify the Jews by force. Their children were abducted and entrusted to special organizations to be raised as Christians. There was a breathing space for the Russian Jews during the rule of Alexander II, the liberator of the serfs in 1861. In 1878, by the Treaty of Berlin, the Rumanian Jews were emancipated. But this was never more than a paper emancipation. In 1881, with the accession to the Russian throne of Alexander III, one of the blackest periods of

Jewish history was begun. The era of pogroms, expulsions and restrictive laws began. It soon produced several very important effects. First, a stream of emigrants commenced to flow from the East to the United States, Canada, South America, England, South Africa. It grew in volume as the persecutions and the pogroms multiplied, so that toward the end of the first decade of the present century the volume of Jewish emigration from Russia, Poland and Rumania reached an annual figure of a quarter of a million. Second, the Russian-Polish Jews identified themselves with the various revolutionary movements, playing leading parts in all of them. Third, the modern Zionist movement, aiming at the restoration of the Jewish nation in Palestine, was born.

In the course of centuries of wandering the Jew never stopped hoping for the appearance of the Messiah, who would lead all the scattered sons of Israel back to the Holy Land. At various times, in response to the innermost Jewish aspirations, false Messiahs appeared, quickly gathering about them large followings. Thus in the 8th, 12th and 16th centuries the Jews were misled by impostors, and in the 17th century the whole Jewish world was profoundly shaken by the rise of one Sabbatai Zevi, who declared that he was the long-awaited Messiah. But the movement born in Russia in 1882 was a modern effort essentially. Groups of Jewish students and enthusiastic nationalists

raised the banner of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and went there to till the soil and found colonies. These pioneers revived the ancient Hebrew and proclaimed it as the tongue of the coming Jewish state. The difficulties they encountered were many. But, supported by organizations of "Lovers of Zion," formed in Russia, they gradually made progress.

Meanwhile in Western Europe, where the Jew by virtue of his enjoyment of equal rights penetrated into every branch of trade and industry and climbed to the very top of the financial, political and learned world, the anti-Semitic movement was born. It started in Germany and reverberated powerfully in France. The ancient ritual murder accusation, which originated in the early days of Christianity, when it was leveled against the Christians, was revived, and made much use of in Austria, Rumania and Russia. This gave rise to national sentiments among the Western Jews. In 1896 there appeared a pamphlet, called "The Jewish State," in German, English and French. Its author was a Vienna journalist, Theodore Herzl. It made a great sensation, and was rapidly translated into many other languages. Dr. Herzl, a fiery personality, advocated the departure of the Jews from Europe and their formation in Palestine, under Turkish suzerainty, of a republic. The response to Dr. Herzl's project was universal and instantaneous. In 1897 there met in Basel,

Switzerland, the first Jewish congress, representing Jews from all over the world, of all classes and beliefs. It laid the foundations of political Zionism, adopting as its official aim the "establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine."

The Zionist movement made great headway among the Russian, Polish and Rumanian Jews. Dr. Herzl had audiences with Sultan Abdul Hamid, the Pope, British and Russian ministers, but failed to secure a "charter" of Jewish autonomy in Palestine from Turkey. The British government offered to him a section of East Africa for Jewish colonization. Dr. Herzl favored the acceptance of the proposal, but the Eastern Zionists, who were in the majority, rejected it. In 1904 Dr. Herzl died, and for some years the Zionist movement was in confusion. Meanwhile Jewish colonies were being founded in Palestine and the Hebrew language, mainly through the efforts of Ben Yehuda, a philologist who devoted his life to the task, became the spoken tongue of thousands of Jews everywhere. Newspapers and magazines were published in Hebrew, and modern poets and novelists and dramatists infused a new spirit into the tongue of the Prophets.

At the outbreak of the Great War there were more than twelve million Jews in the world. In Russia alone, including Russian Poland, there were six million Jews. In the United States there

were three million. In Austria-Hungary and Germany there were another two million. The rest were scattered all over the earth. In the reconstructed Europe the majority of the Jews will be found in Poland, less than four million. The Jewish problem in Russia is thus transferred to Poland, where the relations between the Jews and the Poles are unfortunately strained.

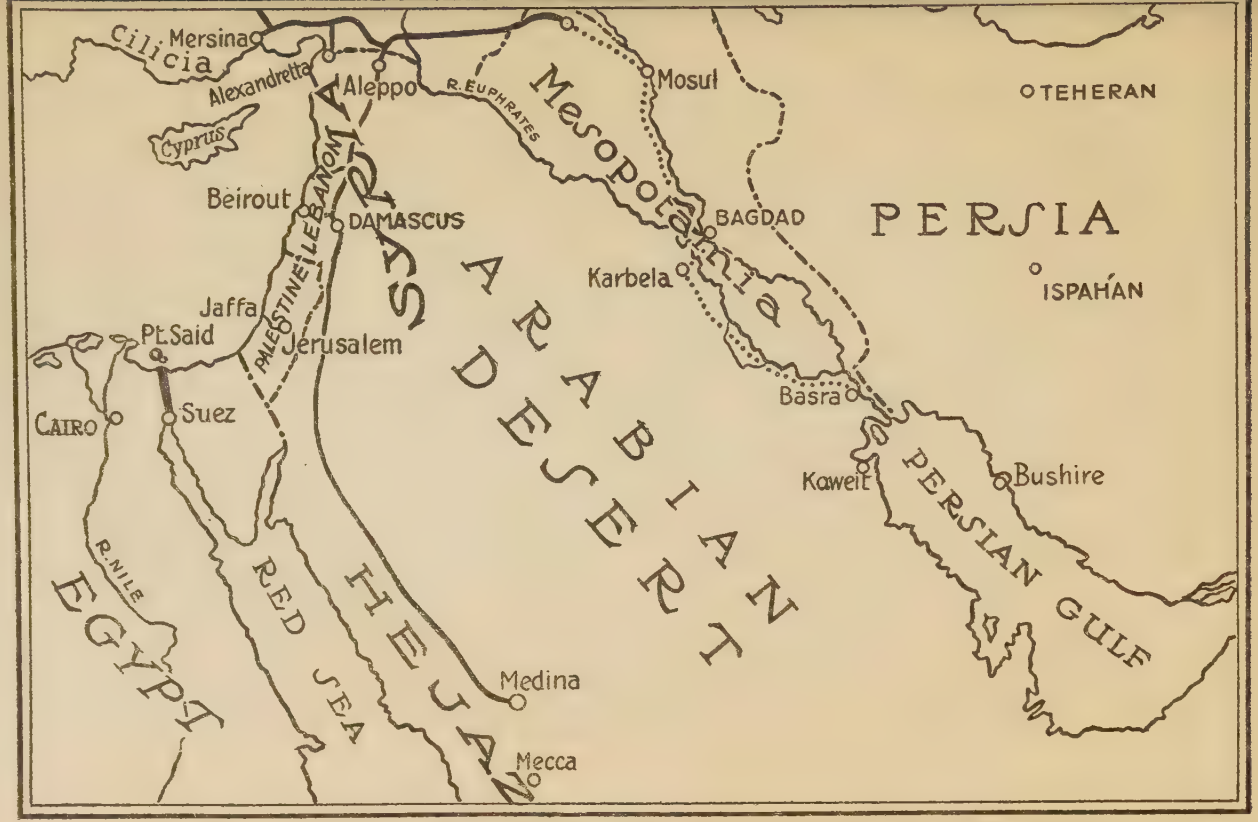
The war caused untold suffering to the Jew. Three-quarters of a million of Jewish soldiers were impressed into the Tsar's armies. Hundreds of thousands of Jewish homes were wiped out and millions of old men, women and children set wandering. While the Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian revolutions brought at first new freedom to the Jews, the class-struggle which broke out in those countries proved ruinous to the middle classes, where the majority of the Jews belong. All this stimulated Jewish nationalism. The collapse of Turkey gave even a more violent impetus to Zionism. Early in the war a Jewish volunteer unit coöperated with the British in the Gallipoli campaign. Later a Jewish Legion was recruited in the United States and Great Britain, and participated in General Allenby's Palestinian campaign. On November 2, 1917, Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, addressed a note to Lord Rothschild in which he made the following declaration on behalf of the British government:

"His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Similar assurances were made by the governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia, Holland, Siam, and finally by President Wilson, although the United States was not at war with Turkey. Then followed a remarkable demonstration of unanimity on the part of all Jews in favor of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Those Jews who had completely identified themselves with their adopted countries, as well as those intellectual and laboring elements who believed only in proletarian internationalism, recognized that half of the Jews in Europe were in such an economic, political and cultural state as to welcome a return to Palestine and the establishment there of a Jewish national home. The overwhelming majority of the Zionists, however, feel that such a state cannot be evolved in a short period, and favor British protection and guidance. One of the greatest difficulties ahead of the Zionists is to be found in the Arab population of the Holy Land. These Arabs have no national conscious-

ness, but their rights cannot be ignored. The Zionists have therefore concluded an entente with the King of the Hejaz, the new Arabian state. However, the Syrians will not recognize the Jewish claims to Palestine. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Syrian claim to hegemony over the Palestinian Arabs is denied by the Arabian kingdom of the Hejaz.

Nahum Sokolov, one of the Zionist leaders, thus defined the territorial aspirations of Zionism: "We ask not for the greater Palestine of Solomon, but simply for the tract of country between our ancient boundaries and Beersheba, or, in modern terms, from the River Kishon to El Arish. Westward our limit will be the sea. Eastward it may well be that the new Arabian kingdom will preclude our extension beyond the River Jordan, which would thus form our eastern boundary."



The New Arabia (Hejaz), Syria (including Palestine and the Lebanon) and Mesopotamia.

III

SYRIA

Syria in Arabic means the "Regent of the Sun." In the European languages Syria is employed to designate several things. Thus, the geographical definition of Syria comprehends a strip of territory, a hundred and fifty miles wide, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, the northern boundary of which is the Taurus range, the southern limits—the Sinai Peninsula, and the eastern border—Mesopotamia and the Syrian Desert. This territory includes Palestine and the Lebanon. But Syria politically is a very loose term. The Syrian nationalists seek to define it along geographical lines. Premier Lloyd George divided it into two separate domains when he announced on January 5, 1918, that "Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions." Foreign Minister Pichon, of France, divided it into three political realms when he declared on December 29, 1918, that "our rights are incontestable in Armenia, Syria, Lebanon, and

Palestine." The term Syria employed in these pages excludes Palestine.

The difficulty of determining Syria's political boundaries is primarily due to the fact that Syria's population is not an ethnic unit. The two and a half million inhabitants of Syria are extremely heterogeneous. What we call Syrians are, ethnically speaking, Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Greeks, Druses, Hebrews, Assyrians, Circassians, and people combining the blood of these various elements. The larger part of the Syrian population is Arabian in origin and Mohammedan in religion. The Syrian Arabs are the most enlightened representatives of their race, and among the most advanced Moslems in the world.

The number of religions in Syria is almost as diversified as that of its races. The Moslems are in the majority, but the Christians are a strong minority. The Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches have large followings, with the latter predominating. There are some non-Christian and non-Moslem sects in Syria, of whom the most notable is that of the Druses. Among the Catholics the most powerful and progressive element is that of the Maronites, of Assyrian origin, who form the vanguard of Syrian nationalism.

The first great power to rise in Syria was Phoenicia, which nearly five thousand years ago built the cities of Tyre and Sidon and grew so rich that the Egyptians invaded it repeatedly for plunder.

The Phoenicians were great navigators and carried on extensive commerce with the West, founding many colonies. South of Phoenicia the Philistines, from whom the name Palestine is derived, established themselves, and were followed by the Hebrews, who maintained friendly relations with Phoenicia. Syria was in turn invaded and conquered by the Assyrians and Babylonians and Persians. Alexander the Great invaded it next and many Greeks settled in the country, giving birth to a strong civilization, centering around Antioch. Then Syria was conquered by Tigranes, King of Armenia, and with his fall came Roman rule and subsequently that of Byzantium. Christianity, originating in Palestine, spread early to all Syria. But the rise of Islam in the seventh century nearly wiped it all out. The Arabs invaded and conquered the country, settling there in large numbers. When the title of the caliphate was assumed by the Ottoman rulers, Syria passed into the possession of Turkey. But the country retained its Arabian civilization, so that Arabic is the spoken and written tongue of most Syrians. During the Crusades the Christians in Syria came in touch with the Roman Church. The Maronites, who number about half a million and live largely in the Lebanon, resisted at first Rome's efforts to dominate them. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Louis XIV established French influence over the Maronites. In 1736 the Pope Clement

XII recognized the Maronite Church, which has since remained an individual institution. In 1860, as a result of feuds between the Maronites and Druses, France was instrumental in obtaining autonomy for the Lebanon, to be exercised in agreement with the wishes of the western powers. Although the separation of the Church from the State in France led to a weakening of the French influence in Syria, new forces appeared to take the place of the official Catholic missionaries,—economic forces as well as cultural and political. The Syrians educated in French schools had produced a number of gifted leaders who began to preach the doctrine of Syrian nationalism. They were naturally Francophile and France encouraged their activity. At the same time France initiated a policy of economic penetration into Syria. She constructed there hundreds of miles of railroad. The number of French schools in the country was equal to that of all the other nations combined. At the outbreak of the war hundreds of Syrians volunteered their services to France.

The progressive elements in Syria are mainly recruited from the students of the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, and Presbyterian schools. But the Moslems in Syria have also made considerable progress. A national consciousness has manifested itself among all Syrians, regardless of faith. Thousands of Moslems, for instance, who had emigrated to

America to accumulate some money, returned later to their native villages and cities. These would invariably bring with them a higher state of civilization and a realization of international conditions, contributing greatly to the spread of Syrian nationalism at home. While the Syrian Christians produced several brilliant nationalist leaders the Moslems did not lag much. One of them, Sheikh Abdul-Hamid Zehrawi, played an important rôle in the Syrian nationalist movement. He was executed by the Turks in 1915 in Damascus, together with nineteen other prominent Syrians including officers, magistrates and journalists, for instigating an insurrection against the Ottoman government.

The Turkish misrule in Syria forced hundreds of thousands of Syrians to leave their country. About three hundred thousand of them came to the United States and Mexico. Nearly half a million are said to have settled in South America, especially in Brazil. They support a large number of native publications, as well as numerous churches. Young Syria, at home and abroad, produced a large number of literary persons, and Syrian poetry has achieved both great beauty and depth.

Syria was martyred by the Turks in the course of the Great War. Court martials established at Aleppo, Damascus and Beyrout sentenced to death thousands and to terms of imprisonment tens of

thousands. As in the case of the other oppressed nationalities, these persecutions only solidified national feeling among the Syrians. A central committee was created in Paris, aiming at the complete severance of Syria from the Ottoman Empire and her erection into a distinct national entity under French protection. However, while the Syrians are all agreed as to the idea of separate national existence, while they are almost unanimous in the belief that their country is not yet in a condition to function as an independent state, they are by no means agreed as to the power under whose aegis Syria should be placed. Perhaps the majority of the active Syrian nationalists are for a French protectorate. However, there are those who would like to see Great Britain assume control of Syria. Another faction, largely hailing from the United States, is clamoring for an American protectorate. In a speech delivered to the Central Syrian Committee in Paris, several months before the British occupation of Syria and the collapse of Turkey, Sir Mark Sykes, the noted authority on the Near East, said:

"Now suppose that the Turks are ejected from Syria, suppose that the Allies have saved Syria, but that the people are not united (I mean the intellectual leaders of the people), what will happen then? If you are not united some sort of a Government will have to be imposed upon you, and a Government which is imposed has neither

the strength nor the stability of a Government which is desired by the people. I see Syria starting on a life with a Government which is not congenial, with agitation and discontent at the root of everything. It is therefore of the greatest importance that there should be a firm will and a policy for unity among Syrians. You are dispersed among the nations, many of you live in Paris, others at Marseilles, yet others in London and others in Manchester. Many of you have made your homes in the towns of America, and there is a large Syrian colony in Egypt. Unite yourselves and you will become a powerful political force, and if you want a program I will dictate one to you. In the first place, you must do away with the negative policy of the Turks; that which is intolerable in Armenia is equally intolerable in Syria. In the second place, you must look to France for her indispensable aid, that aid which a people which has for so long been oppressed needs before it is capable of standing alone. You must also demand the guarantees of the powerful countries of the world, so that you may not again be subjected to the tyranny of the Turks, which has reduced you to poverty and to discord. I imagine that all the religions and all the races of Syria can unite on such a program. As to you Syrians who have your full liberty, I assure you that you have an enormous responsibility with regard to those of your com-

patriots, Moslems, Christians, or Druses, who are still in Syria, for these latter are unable to express themselves or to organize."

However, the ending of the Great War still found the Syrians divided. The successful British campaign in Syria, in coöperation with the forces of the Arabian kingdom of the Hejaz, introduced some new factors into the problem. The Syrian Mohammedans always preferred the British to the French. With the Arabs of Mecca advancing with the British into Syria, British influence rose even higher. The son of the King of the Hejaz, Shereef Feisul, came to Europe, after helping to rout the Turks from Syria, to press for the union of Syria with the Arabian kingdom of the Hejaz. It was even reported that Great Britain favored such a solution of the Syrian problem, as it would place Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia—the entire Arabian population of Turkey—under its influence. However, France proclaimed her "incontestable rights" in Syria and the Lebanon.

In January, 1919, the Syrians held a congress in Paris, and were addressed by M. Franklin-Bouillon, vice-president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies. He appealed for unanimous support in "defence of Syrian interests and the maintenance of French prestige in the Orient, where France for centuries has not ceased to work for the emancipation of

humanity." A strong pro-British current, however, developed among the Syrians. A leader of this current stated his views as follows in the second year of the war, before the Arabian revolution and the establishment of a national state in the Hejaz occurred, to Vladimir Jabotinsky, as quoted in his "Turkey and the War":

"Before the war broke out it had always been an axiom with us that England did not want Syria. So the only alternative to Turkish rule, for those who did not believe in independence, was France. The Turkish menace to Egypt changed the whole situation. My friends from Cairo write me that now on all sides the conviction is growing that England will not be able to remain indifferent to the future of Syria. They think England will claim for herself the southern part of the Syrian coast, if not the whole of it. If it is true, then we Arabs have to reconsider our attitude. If we really have a choice between France and England, many of us would prefer England. We do not feel any particular love for either; as a matter of feeling, our instinctive sympathy goes rather to the French than to the English. But the French rule is centralistic and tends to impose on the native population the French language and customs. England is incomparably more liberal. We have two examples before our eyes: Tunis and Egypt were occupied at the same time. Tunis has been completely 'Frenchified' in every-

thing—administration, tribunals, schools, even religious education; whilst in Egypt our national language plays a prominent rôle in schools and public life. This difference is eloquent enough. Besides, there is another consideration of no less importance. The population of the southern and eastern Mediterranean coasts who all speak Arab dialects and could form in the future a great united nation, have been cut up into sections under different rule: Morocco, Algeria and Tunis are French, Tripoli is Italian, Egypt is British, and now they are speaking of Syria about to become French. I think it is *trop de morcellement.* Many of us will certainly prefer Egypt and Syria to be one, under the same rule, and so constitute a powerful nucleus of Arab nationhood."

The roads open before Syria are many. Some of them lead to autonomy under French, British, or even American protection. One proposal, emanating from Syrians in the United States, is to place Syria under the joint suzerainty of these three powers. Another proposal, sponsored by the Shereef of Mecca and many Pan-Arabian nationalists, is to unite Syria with the Hejaz. Still another plan would divide Syria into two parts, the Lebanon and Syria proper, putting the former under French and the latter under British guidance. Finally, there is the proposal to have a league of nations take charge of Syria and all similar countries. The Syrians all over the world

are agreed, however, on the need for "the complete and permanent elimination of Turkish rule from Syria" and the introduction of self-government there under some friendly guardianship.

IV

MESOPOTAMIA

Mesopotamia occupies a central position in the Middle East. As a geographical term it embraces the territory through which the Tigris and Euphrates flow. As a political term it is somewhat narrower. It is bounded on the north by Kurdistan and Assyria, on the west by Syria, on the east by Persia, and on the south by the desert.

It was in Mesopotamia that the great empires of Assyria and Babylon were founded. Persia, Greece and Parthia conquered it, ruling over it in turn till the rise of Rome. In the third century the Roman armies invaded Mesopotamia and for three centuries afterwards struggled with Persia for control over the land. Every wave of invaders left its traces in the blood of the population. Already in the first centuries of the present era large Arab colonies were established in Mesopotamia. Christianity spread early among the Assyrians, Arabs, and Jews, but it was of a kind which did not harmonize with the Roman Church, so that a split followed between these and the western Christians.

Mesopotamia was in a state of ruin as a result of bitter strife when in the seventh century the Moslem Arabs overran it, spreading the new faith of Islam. Since then Mesopotamia has been Arabized to such an extent that the history of the country in the years preceding the Arabian invasion still remains very obscure. In 762 the city of Baghdad was founded by the caliph Mansur on the west bank of the Tigris. It was built in a circle and became known as the round city. It grew so rapidly that in less than a century it contained a population of two million, becoming the greatest city in the world. The Arabian Caliphate of Baghdad became the leading civilized center not only in Islam, but in all Asia and Europe.

Arts and science, commerce and trade attained unprecedented heights under the early Baghdad caliphs, and to the present day that Arabian civilization constitutes one of the marvels of history. What put an end to it was the arrival of the Turk. At first the Mongol invaders only destroyed the political power of the caliphate. As the religious capital in Islam Baghdad still continued till the thirteenth century to play an important part in the East. But then came the Tartars, and with them the end of the caliphate in Mesopotamia.

Beginning with the sixteenth century Persia and Turkey struggled for control of Mesopotamia. Baghdad changed hands several times, till it fell into the hands of Sultan Murat IV, in 1638,

and central Mesopotamia thus came definitely under the domination of the Ottoman government. However, a century later it was turned by one of the Turkish governors into an autonomous kingdom. Persia then made an unsuccessful effort to recapture Baghdad.

Central and Lower Mesopotamia were occupied by the British-Indian forces during the Great War. When the British entered Baghdad, they announced that they would grant self-government to the population. The Mesopotamian Arabs, while strong bonds unite them with their brethren in Syria and the Hejaz, have not developed any considerable national movement as yet. However, many Arab chiefs in Mesopotamia soon allied themselves with the British against the Turks.

Undoubtedly the greatest British accomplishment in Mesopotamia during the war was that of the Irrigation Department. From Basra to Baghdad the British carried out an extensive irrigation scheme which redeemed hundreds of thousands of acres of land and won for them the lasting friendship of the natives. The Political Department of the British Expeditionary Force was just as active. Speaking of its achievements in July, 1918, in the House of Commons, Lord Robert Cecil said:

"Very satisfactory progress is being made in redeeming the country from the state of ruin into which it had fallen under the Turks. Thirteen

Government primary schools, four municipal State-aided schools, a teachers' training school, and a survey school have been opened; extension classes in agriculture have also been started. The local demand for education is very insistent, and is being met as rapidly as the supply of teachers will permit. Large tracts of land hitherto untilled have been brought under the plow through the combined efforts of the people and the Political Administration; use has been made of mechanical tractors and artillery horses, which have supplemented the ordinary means of cultivation. The opening up of the country by road, rail, and improved water transport, and the establishment of security on the highways, have resulted in an increase of trade and a lowering of prices of commodities. The contrast between the improved condition of Mesopotamia and that of the neighboring country occupied by the Turks, where disorder and famine are chronic, has not failed to impress the population and its leaders, the local notables, and tribal chiefs. The relations between our troops and the people are excellent, and a spirit of harmony and co-operation prevails. The opinion is frequently expressed that the British people mean well by the Arab race. Turning to the operations of the forces of our Ally, the King of the Hejaz, the casualties inflicted on the Turks by the Arab armies along the line between Dera'a and Ma'an amount to about 2,000, in addition to which

two locomotives have been destroyed, 122 culverts and bridges demolished, and railway communication between those two points permanently interrupted. In the interior, five Turkish convoys, aggregating 1,500 camels, have been captured by the Shereef Ali, and a severe defeat has been inflicted on the Emir of Hail by the Shereef Abdulla."

In the subsequent operations of Arabian forces in Palestine and Syria, in conjunction with the movement of General Allenby, Mesopotamian Arabs participated. This linked them more closely with the Arabs of the Hejaz, whose aspiration is a union of all their nationals under the ægis of the Shereef of Mecca. However, the British program, as announced by Lloyd George in January, 1918, called for a separate Arabian government, under British protection, in Mesopotamia.

"The Arabs," according to a British writer, "though torn by tribal dissensions, have a strong feeling of kinship and are united by their economic interests. Nomad chiefs who own land in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys are naturally predisposed to a British occupation which makes their property more secure, and therefore more valuable. One nomad who feels that he has gained by our advent is likely to impress the fact on the others, and we may be sure that all Arabia has by now a shrewd idea of the superiority of British control over the misrule of the Turk. These con-

siderations are greatly strengthened by the innate antagonism between Turk and Arab, and by the Hejaz revolt, which has shown that the Turk, although a Moslem, can be lawfully fought by other Moslems. It will be seen, then, that the British armies in Palestine and Mesopotamia have already exerted a marked influence over the whole of that vast region which separates their fields of action, and that there is nothing fantastic in the program of freeing the Arabs which General Maude announced in Baghdad."

Four solutions of the Mesopotamian problem have been suggested. The first is contained in the understanding between England and France, whereby the former was to set up an autonomous native administration in Mesopotamia under British protection. The second is to be found in the effort of the kingdom of the Hejaz to incorporate Mesopotamia with Western Arabia under the Shereef of Mecca. The third is the claim of some Syrians that Mesopotamia and Syria be united, in view of their geographical and economic interdependence. The fourth is the proposal to establish a native government in Mesopotamia under the immediate guidance and protection of a league of nations. If there ever was any sentiment in Mesopotamia for re-union with Turkey, it vanished with the surrender of the Ottoman government to the Allies. There are no physical or spiritual ties between the Turks and Arabs.

Syria and Armenia divide Turkey from Mesopotamia. The Arabs realized that their stagnation in the past several centuries was due to Turkish rule and saw in the removal of this rule the beginning of a new epoch in their history.

V

ASSYRIA

The Assyrians are the descendants of the ancient race which thousands of years ago built the mighty empires of Assyria and Babylon on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Only a handful of the Assyrians remain. They inhabit the Zorgas highlands, where the Great Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, has its source, as well as the cities of Urumia and Mosul. The present homeland of the Assyrians may be defined as the triangle between Urumia (on the lake of the same name), Mosul, and the southern extremity of Lake Van.

Only those Christian Assyrians who are known to the civilized world as Nestorians have become identified as Assyrian nationals in the West. But there are in Assyria a number of half-Moslem and half-Christian sects who are usually regarded by foreigners as Arabs or Kurds, but who really are Assyrians. In addition there are the Jacobites, another Christian Assyrian sect living in Syria and Armenia, and a large Assyrian colony in India. All these various elements of the Assyrian

race have up to 1914 manifested no concerted national consciousness. However, in the course of the Great War a remarkable movement originated among the Assyrian immigrants in the United States, where they number about twenty-five thousand. They organized societies, founded some periodicals, and began to press their historical claims, seeking autonomy under the protection of the Great Powers.

Before the World War broke out there were not more than three-quarters of a million of Assyrians of all descriptions in Turkey, Persia, and Russia, of whom more than two hundred thousand were Nestorians. Nearly three-quarters of a million more are said to inhabit the Malabar Coast of India. With these distant brothers included, the Assyrians number not more than a million and a half, the remainder of a once-powerful nation.

There is no question that historically the Assyrians have a perfect claim to the land they inhabit. Forty-five hundred years ago their forefathers lived in it and from it spread out and conquered many kingdoms and peoples. The Bible records the deeds of the Assyrian rulers. It was in 606 B. C. that Babylon and Media combined to overthrow Assyria. However, it maintained a semi-independent state until Persia overran it. Then came the Roman, Byzantine and Persian empires. The Assyrians first embraced Christianity during the Apostolic period, and were gradually convert-

ed in the course of the first centuries. The new religion brought upon them the ire of the Persians, who considered it a challenge to their own faith, Zoroastrianism, or fire-worship. At the close of the third century the Persians began to persecute the Christians under them. The Assyrians were massacred in large numbers. In one district alone a hundred and sixty thousand Christians suffered martyrdom. Hundreds of thousands migrated to India. In the fourth century a Persian Emperor, seeing the obstinacy with which the Christians stuck to their faith, decreed that "the Christians, unless they would consent to worship the Persian deities, should be required to pay an invariable tax levied on each individual." At the beginning of the fifth century the Christians in Persia enjoyed a period of rest under the leadership of Bishop Maruthas, who rendered valuable service to the Persian Emperor by carrying on successful negotiations with the Roman Emperors.

From the sixth to the eighth century the Assyrians converted many Asiatic races to the Nestorian Church, exercising wide influence until the rise of the Caliphate of Baghdad, which was established by the followers of the new religion of Islam. The Baghdad Caliphate was the center of Arabian civilization for several centuries, and the Assyrians enjoyed its protection, although their church lost its power and decayed. In the thirteenth century the Mongol hordes emerged from

the East, wrecking Arabian civilization and sacking Baghdad. The Assyrians fled to the Zogras Mountains and established a patriarchal seat at Julamerk. Under their patriarchs the Nestorians have maintained not only religious but also a certain amount of political autonomy.

In 1834 the American Presbyterians sent the Rev. Justin Perkins to do missionary work among the Nestorians. An American mission, consisting of a college and a hospital, was later established in Urumia. The American missionaries were followed by an Anglican mission sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by some Russian Orthodox workers. The last were more political intriguers than missionaries. By promises of special Russian protection to the Nestorians, they won many of them over to the Orthodox Church.

The war brought terrible disaster to the Assyrians. At first the relations between the Kurds and the Assyrians were undisturbed, and in the winter of 1914-15 there was peace in the Taurus highlands, although in January, 1915, the Turks had captured the Persian city of Urumia and held it for several months. "Then, in March," according to Philips Price, "two Assyrians arrived with news from Russia at Kochanes, the village of the Patriarch. Russia, they said, would come and take the Assyrian highlands, and liberate the Christians groaning under the tyranny of the Turk. The Cossacks would be here any time now;

guns, ammunition, money, all would be forthcoming; only let them rise up now against the common enemy of Christendom." The Assyrians were undecided. Then Turkish agents appeared among the Kurds and urged them to rise to the defense of the Sultan. The Kurds also hesitated. "If we go to the Turks they will take us and make us serve in Europe and Gallipoli. Let us rather stay in our homes, or if we must fight, then let us fight our neighbors and get all the loot we can." This they proceeded to do as soon as some of the Assyrian tribes went to join the Russians, and war was thus declared by the Kurds against the Assyrians.

Meanwhile the Turkish army under Halil Bey, which held Urumia, was defeated by a Russian force at Salmas, Persia, and retreated, which made it possible for the Russians to re-enter Urumia in May. What followed was thus described by a correspondent of "The Near East" in April, 1918:

"The next Turkish offensive, in June, was an attack, led by the Vali of Mosul, against the highlanders of the Mar Shimun (the Assyrian Patriarch). The latter defended their narrow valley against the invaders with the utmost valor. But the Turks had with them some mountain artillery, so that they were able to battle down the resistance offered by the castles and churches; and at length the Assyrians were forced to abandon their

valleys and to take refuge for three months in the fastnesses of almost inaccessible mountains. Here, amid the clouds, they preserved their freedom, but they ran short of supplies. With a handful of trusty warriors their brave Patriarch betook himself through untold perils to the Russian lines at Salmas, Persia, to secure assistance. The fall of Warsaw, however, had so weakened the Russians that for the moment they were unable to render effective aid; consequently Mar Shimun was forced in November, 1915, to lead his needy flock down to the plateau of northwestern Persia. They scattered throughout the plains of Salmas and Urumia; but here they did not find food enough to go round; and they also lacked houses and winter clothing. In those high altitudes, where snow is plentiful, their sufferings were intense, and within three months fifteen per cent. of the refugees had died of disease or of starvation.

"In January, 1916, Mar Shimun visited the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army of the Caucasus, who received him with the honors due to the head of a Church and of a nationality. The Russians requested the Assyrian Highlanders to help defend the border against the Turks and Kurds. As late as October, 1917, the Assyrians held the Castle of Chal, only fifty miles from Mosul. But the withdrawal of the Russian forces has brought great disaster to

the Assyrians, and thousands of women and children are threatened with extermination."

From America and England large sums of money were transmitted to Urumia to succor the many thousands of ruined and hungry Assyrians. But even more noble were the indefatigable efforts of the American missionaries, Dr. Shedd and Dr. Packard, who literally saved thousands of lives through their influence with the Kurds. "Dr. Packard," writes Philips Price, "is six feet tall, with the eye of an eagle and the courage of a lion. He has traveled during the past thirteen years in every remote valley of this wild Turco-Persian borderland; he is intimately acquainted with every tribal chief of the Kurds, and can go among the fiercest and most intractable of them, such is his moral hold over these men, his medical skill, and the confidence which they place in a man who is not engaged in political intrigue."

A typical instance of the American missionary's work occurred early in 1915, when the Kurds fell upon the Assyrian Christians after the Russian evacuation of Urumia and massacred and plundered thousands of them. Two thousand Assyrians were besieged in one village by the Kurds. Dr. Packard, at the risk of his life, "went straight to the Kurdish chief commanding the besiegers, and begged him in the name of humanity to spare the Christians, telling him that Mahommed had never countenanced cruelty, and had always taught

his disciples to be kind and merciful. The effect of a personal appeal for mercy from one who inspires confidence even in a wild mountaineer was instantaneous. The Christians were liberated on condition of giving up their arms."

The Assyrians sustained a great loss when the head of their Church, Benjamin Mar Shimun, was killed in March, 1918. However, a successor was promptly elected and, under him, they made an effort to effect a junction with the British forces in Mesopotamia.

The numerical weakness of the Assyrians necessarily renders their problem small and easy of solution. The crying Assyrian need is security against attacks from the Kurds, Persians, Tartars and Turks. But neither do the Assyrians wish to be incorporated in the new Armenia, as some Armenian nationalists desire. The Rev. Joel Werda, President of the Assyrian National Association in the United States, referring to the movement for an Armenian-Assyrian union, said:

"It is needless to say that this will be an utter impossibility. The Assyrians have no imperial dreams, nor the thought of conquest. What the Assyrians desire is a portion of their own land, it matters not how small, with an outlet to the sea. The mountains of Kurdistan (the so-called Assyrian highlands), together with the plains of the province of Mosul, with the Tigris giving us

an outlet to the sea, and a guarantee that we would be protected from persecution and further atrocities, would be sufficient to satisfy the reasonable desire of the Assyrian nation."

VI

KURDISTAN

Kurdistan, the land of the Kurds, comprises mainly the Taurus mountain range which divides Armenia from Mesopotamia. West of Kurdistan is Cilicia, to the east of it is the Persian province of Azerbaijan. Of the two million Kurds that lived in Turkey in 1914, more than half inhabited the Taurus highlands. Another million were subjects of Persia and Russia.

The Kurds are considered the original inhabitants of Kurdistan, having inhabited the Taurus mountains since the dawn of history. Already in the days of the Assyrian empire they led a separate national existence. Ancient Media was largely a Kurdish power. Later they fell under Persian influence, and absorbed much of the Persian culture. The Kurds, although converted to Islam, resisted the domination of the Baghdad Caliphs in the ninth and tenth centuries. Kurdistan reached its height under Saladin in the twelfth century, when it became a vast kingdom extending as far as Egypt and Yemen in the south and the Black Sea in the north.

With the arrival of the Turks in Middle Asia, the larger portion of the Kurds fell under their sway. However, they retained till the nineteenth century virtual tribal independence. Russia's victorious pressure in Transcaucasia encouraged them to revolt, but Turkey subdued them in 1834 and placed them under Turkish administrators. Nevertheless Kurdistan still remained an autonomous country, ruled by Bedr Khan Bey, a powerful chief. In 1843 Bedr Khan Bey made an effort, at the head of a large force, to drive the Turkish administration out and set up in Kurdistan and the adjoining Armenian districts an entirely independent kingdom. He failed, but his movement was the beginning of modern Kurdish nationalism.

What gave a strong impetus to Kurdish nationalism was Armenian nationalism. The latter was encouraged by Russia during and after the war of 1877-78. Turkey therefore proceeded to encourage the Kurdish chief, Sheikh Obeidulla, to set up a Kurdish principality and to propagate Kurdish nationalism, so as to create hatred between the two races, in which alone was there safety for the Ottoman hold on the Kurdish-Armenian lands. It is an established fact that up to 1877 the Kurds and the Armenians got along well together. But after the race animosity had been aroused, Turkey resumed its oppression of the Kurds, even as Russia had suspended its pro-Armenian policy and began to persecute its Armenian subjects.

After the Turkish Revolution of 1908 an agreement was reached between the Armenians and the Kurds to support the Young Turkish government. It is significant that the Kurds were the first to go over to the opposition when the Young Turks adopted the policy of Ottomanization for all the races of the empire. Shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Turkish authorities hanged in Bitlis one of the last semi-independent chiefs in Kurdistan, Sheikh Seyid Ali of Khizan, for fomenting revolution.

When early in 1915 Turkish emissaries came to the Kurds to incite them against the Christians, they held out to them again many attractive promises. The Kurdish invasion of the plains of Urumia, in which the Assyrians suffered so much, was perpetrated, writes Philips Price, "partly with a view to loot, but also, as far as the tribal chiefs were concerned, with the idea of creating a large Kurdish kingdom, with themselves as the rulers. It was undoubtedly a quite spontaneous movement, called forth by the steady growth of nationalism among the Kurds during the last thirty years; but it is curious that it coincided with the plan of Enver Pasha and the Young Turks, set forth at the Erzerum Conference of September, 1914, to create a chain of buffer states under Ottoman suzerainty between Russia and Turkey. Religious fanaticism probably played a much smaller part in the movement than in previ-

ous years. The governing factor throughout seems to have been nationality. It was in fact the desire on the part of the Kurds to realize themselves as a unit in human affairs; and that idea was far more powerful than the idea of Jihad (Holy War)."

Mr. Price is probably the only European writer with an up-to-date knowledge of the Kurdish problem. In his observations in "War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia" he continues as follows on the subject of the Kurds: "Their chief mode of life is cattle and horse-raising, for which abundant mountain pasturage is necessary; so a very large part of them live as nomads, taking their flocks up to the alpine meadows for the Summer, and retiring in Winter to sheltered valleys in the foothills. Being a strong and virile race, their numbers are continually increasing, the pressure of population and the insufficiency of pasturage thus making it necessary for them to expand. The deserts of Mesopotamia do not attract them, owing to the absence under Turkish rule of any development of irrigation in the basins of the lower Tigris and Euphrates. On the other hand, to the north in Armenia they find upland plateaux, where industrious Armenian peasants grow corn, while on the Persian table-land fertile oases abound, where rice and the vine flourish. Everything attracts them northward, and this is one of the prime causes of political disorders in Greater Ar-

menia and northwest Persia, and can only be dealt with by development of the irrigated lands of Mesopotamia, so as to give the Kurds a chance to migrate south. . . . This necessity of the Kurds for expansion is one of the most potent causes of their national unrest. It is the absence of a guiding and controlling hand that has turned this natural movement into undesirable channels.

"It is customary in Europe to look upon the Kurd as cruel and bloodthirsty by nature, and given to creating disturbances for sheer deviltry's sake. But when a race is situated in a country lying between two greedy empires, both continually intriguing, bribing, threatening, invading, and always thinking more of their own selfish imperial interests than of the interests of the people they are dealing with, is it likely that such a race will fail to develop the character of fickleness toward foreigners? There is only one way to secure the peace and development of Kurdistan, and that is by the exercise of a little honesty, that quality so rare in diplomacy. If the governing power deals fairly with the natives, improves roads, irrigates the land, and builds schools, the object of which is not merely to teach the children garbled history about their own country, the natives will then become confident, and turn their activities to works of production rather than of destruction."

The creation of an autonomous Armenia would

cut Kurdistan off from Turkey. The collapse of the Russian empire and the establishment of autonomous Georgian and Tartar republics in Transcaucasia abolished the Russian sphere of influence in Persia. To unite resurgent Kurdistan with weak Persia would be a sure sign of future wars in the Middle East. To let the newly created Armenian state rule Kurdistan would doom Armenia to quick internal destruction. Armenia as it is, drawn along strictly ethnographic lines, would include a large number of Kurds. The incorporation of Kurdistan in it, would mean the creation of an Armenian state in which there were two Kurds to one Armenian. There remains the solution of creating a united Kurdish government in Kurdistan, under the protection, and with the aid, of the Great Powers. Such a solution would stabilize the new Armenia, it would give the Kurds their rights, and would insure the development of a civilization in Kurdistan.

The shaded parts show the sections where the respective nationalities predominate. Azerbaijan includes that part of the Persian province of the same name in which the Tartars are in the majority.

VII

ARMENIA

The word Armenia, to which the Armenians owe their name, is said to have been derived from the two words *ar* (land) and *meni* (mountain)—the land of mountains. Strictly speaking, however, Armenia is a plateau, with an elevation of about six thousand feet, lying between the Taurus mountain range in the south and Anti-Taurus range in the north. The Armenian plateau, running from the east to the west, is easily accessible from Asia and Europe, forming a sort of a highway in times past between Central Asia and Greece.

Above the Armenian tableland rises the celebrated Mount Ararat, on which, according to the Old Testament, Noah's ark rested. "When Noah stood on Ararat," picturesquely observes Edward C. Little, "the great plateau of Armenia lay all about him. To the northeast he could see the fertile and beautiful valley of Araxes running 150 miles to the salt waters of the Caspian Sea. To the southwest were the fountainheads of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the hills and valleys and the plateaux extending to the waters of the Medi-

terranean in the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon. To the northwest was the Black Sea, and later the famous city of Trebizond, while Persia lay to the southeast."

Before the outbreak of the Great War, Armenia was divided among Russia, Turkey, and Persia. On the east the Armenians are bounded by Persians and Tartars; on the north by Georgians and their Moslem half-brothers, the Lazes; on the west by Turks and Greeks and Anatolians; on the south by Arabs, Kurds and Assyrians. These are only the main ethnic boundaries of Armenia.

The real origin of the Armenians is shrouded in the haze of the early history of mankind. The Bible is replete with references to Armenia. It is not yet fully established whether the Armenians were the first inhabitants of Armenia or were an Aryan race that invaded the region of Ararat and assimilated its original population. According to Alexander Polyhistor, 175 B. C., the Armenians fought the Phœnicians twenty centuries before Christ, and conquered them. An Irish publicist is quoted to the effect that at the time of Phœnician commerce with the West, Armenian traders were among them,—that every Irish name one meets ending in *an*, such as Brian, O'Callaghan, Sheridan, as well as the Cornish names of Trevelyan, Tresillian, and others, are but the remains of the Armenian termination *ian*.

When Armenia emerges from the zone of doubt

we find her a subject territory of Persia. Four hundred and eighty years before Christ an Armenian force was included in the hordes of Xerxes when he warred against Greece. Alexander the Great, in his conquest of Persia, acquired Armenia and made it a Macedonian province, appointing a Persian as its Governor. Upon the death of Alexander the Great, when his huge empire was divided, one of his generals, Neoptolemus, took possession of Armenia, in 323 B. C. This was the beginning of the political independence of the Armenians. With few interregnums, the Kingdom of Armenia had more than seventeen centuries of existence.

The golden age of Armenian history was the reign of Tigranes the Great, 94-56 B. C. He expanded his dominions in every direction, conquering the neighboring kingdoms. At the zenith of his career Armenia had a population of about thirty million. Tigranes became known, according to his coins, as King of Kings, and was the mightiest monarch in Asia. His power, however, came in conflict with the ambitions of Rome. "Tigranes made the Republic of Rome tremble before his prowess," wrote Cicero. Rome sent an army to conquer Armenia and subdue Tigranes. The great Armenian ruler was defeated and made a vassal of Rome. Upon his death he was succeeded by his son. At about the same time Parthia became Rome's rival and Armenia was turned into

the field upon which East and West struggled for supremacy. Later, in 226 A. D., the Persians conquered Parthia, and Armenia reverted to Persia.

The earliest nation in the world to adopt Christianity as a state religion was Armenia. The almost instantaneous conversion to Christianity of the Armenian people occurred in 301 A. D., when King Tiridates of Armenia was converted to the new faith by Gregory the Parthian, called the Illuminator, after having been miraculously healed by him while suffering from a grave disease. The king then proclaimed Christianity as the state religion.

The life of Armenia as a Christian state was one of great service to the spread of Christianity in the world. Its newly adopted religion almost immediately provoked the hostility of the dominant power, Persia, which finally involved the Christian Emperor of Rome, Constantine the Great, in a struggle against Persia. The result, however, was the partition of Armenia, in 387 A. D. The Persians persecuted the Armenians for their faith. The Armenians resisted with all the fervor of their primitive religion, and developed through it that cohesion which bound them together into an unprecedented national unit. Nothing could reduce the Armenians to a degenerative stage. Neither the hordes of the Persians nor the fanaticism of the Mohammedan Arabs and Turks could destroy their spirit. During the Armenian

struggle against the Persians, the latter attempted to induce them to give up Christianity and embrace Zoroastrianism (fire-worship), to which the Armenians replied:

"From this faith, no force can move us,—neither angels nor men; neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor any deadly punishment. . . . If you leave us our faith, we shall accept no other lord in place of you; but we shall accept no God in place of Christ. If after this great confession, you ask anything more of us, lo! our lives are in your power. From you, torments; from us, submission; your sword, our necks. We are no better than those who have gone before us, who sacrificed their wealth and their lives for this testimony!"

The crisis in the Persian-Armenian struggle was reached in 451 A. D., when in the battle of Avarair sixty-six thousand Armenians defeated two hundred and twenty thousand Persians. This won for them religious liberty. Although still politically autonomous for two centuries after its partition, Armenia owed its preservation mainly to its Church. Already in the year 404 an Armenian alphabet had been devised, and in 433 the Bible was first rendered into Armenian from the Greek. That translation is still known as the "Queen of Versions." The Church fostered Armenian letters breathing a national spirit, which contributed enormously to the preservation of the race.

The first Arab wave to reach Armenia came in 636, immediately after the death of the Prophet. Armenia passed swiftly into the hands of the Caliphs, who appointed Arab and native governors to rule the country. In the ninth century one such governor, Bagratid Ashot, of Jewish origin, succeeded in consolidating part of Armenia into the Kingdom of Ani, of which he was crowned king by the Caliph Motamid in 885. Thus was founded the small but progressive Armenian state of the Middle Ages.

In the tenth century Armenia underwent frightful treatment at the hands of the Arabs. The Christian nations were afraid of the Moslem hordes and did not come to the succor of Armenia. The country was desolated and the Armenians decimated. Hardly had it recovered from the Arabs when a new invasion, that of the Seljuk Turks, overran the Armenian lands. These barbarians plundered the cities and villages, putting their inhabitants to the sword. Internal strife and warfare against the Georgians and the Greeks weakened the Armenian resistance, and finally the Kingdom of Ani succumbed to Toghrul Bey, the leader of the Seljuks, in 1064. The massacre of the helpless population of Ani was one of the bloodiest in human history. The ruins of the city of Ani still stand. Luigi Villari, who visited them in 1904, writes:

"I took leave of this marvelous city. It shows

evidence of a building power and architectural skill on the part of the ancient Armenians of the highest order, and enables us to realize that this people, in spite of the lamentable history of the last six centuries, is a nation with a noble past. To-day this spot, where proud kings once dwelt in splendid courts and held sway over prosperous lands and civilized subjects, where public life was active and vigorous, is a crying wilderness. . . . Is the state of Ani symbolical of that of the Armenian nation, and are they destined at last to disappear or be absorbed into other races, other religions? I do not think so, for with all the suffering and persecution they have undergone, they still preserve a vigorous national life."

During the invasions the Armenians migrated to distant parts of Europe and Asia. Thousands flew to the mountains to escape being butchered. The wealthier and more enterprising elements went to Byzantium, to the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, to the Crimea, to Poland and to Moldavia. It was a dispersal from which Armenia has never recovered. The marvel of this period of martyrdom for the Armenian people was that any of them were left alive in their own country and able to perpetuate their national existence. "For more than three centuries after the appearance of the Seljuk," observes a writer, "Armenia was traversed by a long succession of nomad tribes, whose one aim was to secure good

pasturage for their flocks on their way to the richer lands of Asia Minor. The cultivators were driven from the plains, agriculture was destroyed and the country was seriously impoverished when the ruin was completed by the wholesale butcheries of Timur (Tamerlane)."

Among the emigrants toward the end of the eleventh century was one Rupen, a relation of the last king of Ani. He founded a colony of Armenians in 1080 in the Cilician Taurus which developed later into the kingdom of Cilicia and became known as Lesser Armenia. The first Holy Crusade was decreed by Pope Urban II in the year 1095. Lesser Armenia, already waging defensive warfare against the Seljuks, generously cooperated with the Crusaders, for which her king, Gostandin, was knighted and subsequently created a marquis. Cilicia was ever ready to assist the Western Christians in their wars for the Holy Land. Had Lesser Armenia been supported by the Christian states in its strenuous efforts to resist the Ottoman movement westward, the Turk might never have played the rôle he did. Unfortunately the Byzantine Empire was unfriendly, even hostile to the Armenians, being desirous of absorbing the Armenian Church. The Armenians resisted domination by the Greek Church, as well as that of the Roman Church, which adopted a similar attitude, demanding the submission of the

Armenian Episcopate to the rule of the Supreme Pontiff.

"It may be said with absolute truth," writes W. L. Williams, "that the chief difficulty encountered by this tiny Christian State, this outpost of the Christian Church, during its whole career, arose from the determination of the two Christian organizations in the East and West to absorb this national Church which clung so obstinately to its own creed and to its separate and independent existence. When after 300 years of struggle against foes within and without the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia disappeared and the political existence of this people vanished, it was in a large measure owing to the ecclesiastical intrigues incessantly carried on by the Roman and Greek Churches. They weakened and rendered impotent the State at a moment when unity was called for, and the whole strength of the people was needed to meet their Moslem foes thundering at their gates."

The Cilician kingdom was through the Crusades brought into close relations with France, and its kings even married into French nobility. After many vicissitudes the life of Lesser Armenia was ingloriously terminated. In 1375 she was invaded by the Mamelukes of Egypt and her king, Leo the Sixth, was taken into captivity. After a prolonged imprisonment he was released, came to Europe an exile and died in 1393 in Paris, where

he lies buried in the Abbey of St. Denis. Thus did the last vestige of Armenian independence pass away.

The Tartar hordes were next to sweep over Armenia. In 1401 Tamerlane had left Asia Minor a frightful wreck. The Ottoman Turks followed the Tartars. Armenia was the first to suffer at the hands of the savage invaders that rushed from Central Asia toward Christian Europe. And still Armenia persisted in existing. If anything, the horrible ordeals which she underwent made her more invulnerable and fuller of vitality. As soon as an invader had passed, the Armenians would emerge from mountain crags and hidden valleys by the thousand to perpetuate their kind, to revive and restore their land, only to be again slaughtered and devastated by a new tide of invasion. For several centuries the Turks and the Persians battled on the fields of Armenia, soaking her soil with their blood and that of its inhabitants. In the seventeenth century a Persian king, retreating before the Turks, and fearing lest the latter should rescue the Armenians and use them against the Persians, decided to transfer the Armenian population to Persia. Hundreds of thousands of them were driven in front of the Persian army till they reached the River Araxes, over which there was no bridge. The Turkish army was rapidly moving against the Persians. The Commander of the latter, Shah Abbas, therefore

ordered his forces to drive the Armenian multitude into the river, thus affording an opportunity to those who were able to swim to save their lives.

In 1639 a treaty between Persia and Turkey transferred the eastern part of Armenia to the latter power. In that part was located the province of Erivan, the chief city of which, Etchmiadzin, is the ecclesiastical and cultural center of the country. This section was in 1828 handed over by Turkey to Russia, whose interest in Armenia and the Armenians dated from 1722, when Peter the Great sent an expedition into Transcaucasia to capture Baku. Persecuted by the Moslems, the Armenians, through their patriarch, applied to Peter for permission to settle in the Russian dominions. Since then Russia steadily pressed southward against Turkey and Persia, and the Armenians moved northward just as steadily, so that at the outbreak of the Great War there were more than a million and a half Armenians in Transcaucasia, a considerable portion of whom settled in Georgia and the Tartar districts in the vicinity of Baku. The differences among the Armenians, Georgians and Tartars in the Caucasus spring mainly from the peaceful Armenian conquest of the region, just as the differences between the Armenians and their southern neighbors, the Kurds, are due to the pressure of the latter northward.

When Russia acquired Georgia at the beginning

of the nineteenth century, it annexed a large Armenian population. In 1813 it occupied the Persian province of Karabagh and in 1829 the Turkish province of Akhaltsykh, both of which contained many Armenian communities. With the acquisition of the province of Kars from Turkey, in 1878, Russia's interest in the Armenians assumed definite form. The modern Armenian problem may be said to date from that year.

The Russo-Turkish treaty of San Stefano, which terminated the war of 1877-78, provided that Turkey should "carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians and guarantee their security from the Kurds and Circassians." A Russian army of occupation was to see to it that this provision was carried out. However, Turkish diplomacy, supported by Western powers, succeeded in annulling the treaty of San Stefano, and substituted that of Berlin. It was at the time a blow to Russia and a diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. "Great Britain went further," according to the British publicist, W. L. Williams. "By the *secret* Cyprus Convention (June 4, 1878), the Sultan promised to introduce necessary reforms 'for the protection of Christians and other subjects of the Porte' in Asia Minor. As the price for guaranteeing the integrity of Turkish territory in Asia Minor, Cyprus was ceded to Great Britain. Time and

events have shown it to be one of the gravest political blunders in our annals. But what were its immediate practical effects? It encouraged the Armenians to look to the European Powers and not to Russia alone for protection; and the Convention, which did not mention the Armenians, was regarded as placing them under the special protection of Great Britain. It was a betrayal of the Armenians by the Power to which they were bidden to look for deliverance from the basest and cruelest tyranny."

The protection given by Russia to the Armenians proved harmful to them. Already during the war of 1877-78 the Ottoman authorities instigated massacres of Armenians in Turkey who were suspected, not without reason, of being pro-Russian. A national movement was born among the Armenians. Secret organizations and committees were established in the large cities of Armenia, which were under the influence of nationalist societies formed in Paris, Geneva, and Tiflis. Russia at first encouraged this Armenian movement, which was anti-Turkish, but not for long. During the reign of Alexander III the reactionary policy of the Tsar for Russia was gradually extended to all the dominions of the empire. The Caucasus did not escape the new era, and the Armenians were among the first victims, their schools and Church suffering from governmental persecution. The Armenians soon found themselves between

two fires. Abandoned by their erstwhile protector, the Armenians became an easier prey to the Turkish government, which executed a series of bloody massacres in 1894-96 that cost about one hundred thousand Armenian lives.

A large emigration from Armenia proper began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Tens of thousands of Armenians left for foreign countries, while many more thousands migrated to European Turkey and Russia, where they adapted themselves quickly to new conditions and led in every field of endeavor. Writing in 1905, Luigi Villari called attention to the rise of a wealthy Armenian middle class. "We find them (Armenians)," he observed, "as bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers, and officials all over the Caucasus, and even in European Russia. The Baku oil industry is largely due to Armenian enterprise; at Tiflis, the ancient capital of Georgia, the Armenians form over a third of the population, have practically all the business of the town in their hands, own most of the house property, and constitute 80 per cent. of the town council. Even in the Russian army Armenians occupied high positions; the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in the Asiatic campaign of 1877 was General Loris Melikoff, an Armenian from Lori, and one of his ablest lieutenants was General Ter-Gukassoff, also an Armenian. The same Loris

Melikoff afterward became chief minister to Alexander II; he was all-powerful for a time, and is believed to have drawn up a constitution which would have been promulgated had not the Tsar been assassinated in 1881."

Even in Turkey, in spite of all the persecutions, Armenians attained the highest places and honors. According to Arshag Madhesian, the first newspaper ever published in Turkey was an Armenian periodical. The introduction of Turkish printing and the establishment of theaters were accomplished by Armenians. It was due to the collaboration of two great Armenian statesmen that the Turkish constitution was framed by Midhat Pasha. Armenian philologists evolved the Turkish grammar, while for many years the chief directors of the Turkish arsenals and government mint were Armenians. The fine stuffs, the embroideries, the tapestry and the jewelry admired in Europe as Turkish products are declared to be almost exclusively manufactured by Armenians.

The rise of a large Armenian bourgeoisie in Transcaucasia could not have occurred without the appearance of a proletariat there. The latter was, however, not entirely Armenian. The Tartars and other slow races of the Caucasus made up a large part of the labor class which became especially strong in the oil region around Baku. The racial difference between the Tartars and Armenians, accentuated by their religious difference,

was therefore, broadly speaking, further emphasized by an economic cleavage. The Russian bureaucrats knew how to make use of these differences when the Armenians in Transcaucasia, thanks to numerous repressive measures carried out against them by Tsarism in 1896-1901, had been turned into active revolutionists. Race hatred was aroused by secret agents and Black Hundreds in the industrial centers, especially Baku, which resulted in the notorious pogroms of 1905, when the Tartars fell upon the Armenians in southeastern Transcaucasia and massacred many of them under the very eyes of the Russian officials. Millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed and thousands of lives were lost that year in the Armenian-Tartar fights. It was only in 1906 and afterward, when Georgian, Tartar and Armenian alike were subjected to Tsaristic oppression, that the Tartars realized that they had been used by the Russians to suppress the Transcaucasian revolutionary movement and strengthen the yoke of the Russian autocracy.

The unsuccessful revolution of October, 1905, aroused among the Tartars a new outlook on life, while the Armenians found themselves more closely in sympathy with the struggling Russian people. In Turkey it embittered further the Armenian opposition toward the Ottoman government. But before long, in 1908, Turkey was transformed from a despotic autocracy into a consti-

tutional monarchy. Abdul Hamid was deposed and the Young Turks were at the helm. Naturally the Armenians turned toward Constantinople, hoping for a new era from the seemingly rejuvenated Porte. The Turkish Armenians, mostly peasants and traders, arrived at a friendly understanding with the Kurds, both parties agreeing to support the new government in the Turkish parliament. But the Young Turks, instead of satisfying the legitimate local demands of the various nationalities of the empire, embarked upon their disastrous policy of centralization and Ottomanization. The result was the alienation of the subject races, the Arabs, the Syrians, the Kurds, and the Armenians. Many of the latter turned to Russia, believing justly that sooner or later a free Russia would emerge, and that it would liberate the oppressed nationalities of the empire.

Then came the Great War. The Armenians were about equally divided between Turkey and Russia. What happened in those early days of the world struggle has been told as follows by the only foreign observer in the Caucasus during the war, M. Philips Price, in his "War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia":

"Early in August, 1914, the Tiflis Armenians seem to have decided that a Russo-Turkish war was inevitable, and thereupon the Dashnakist (of the great Armenian party, Dashnaktsution) leaders there at once offered 25,000 volunteers to

assist the Russians in conquering the Armenian vilayets. This offer was made *before* the outbreak of the war with Turkey, and in the interval the volunteers were busy training and forming at the various centers in the Caucasus. At the end of October, when Turkey came into the war, preparations had been so far advanced that Andranik, the famous revolutionary leader from Turkey, at the head of the first battalion, took part with the Russians in the advance through northwest Persia, capturing Serai early in November. Meanwhile five more battalions had been formed and were ready to leave for the front, as soon as they could get rifles and equipment. Fifty per cent. of these volunteers were Armenians who had left Turkey, Bulgaria and Rumania since the outbreak of the European war, and had come to the Caucasus to offer their services."

The Ottoman government became anxious to arrive at an understanding with its Armenian subjects. Enver Pasha delegated three representatives to Erzerum, who proposed that Armenia stay neutral and that the Armenians remain loyal to their respective governments, those of Russia and Turkey. The Erzerum Armenians agreed, but a few days later the Turkish delegation made another proposal, intended to win all the Armenians over to the Ottoman side. They produced a scheme for the conquest of Transcaucasia and the erection of a united autonomous Armenia, pro-

vided the Armenians allied themselves with the Porte. The skeptical Armenians refused to conclude such a pact. The Young Turks then demanded that the Armenians keep from going over to Russia and form anti-Turkish units there. But the Turkish Armenians were not influential enough to stop the activities of their Russian brethren in Tiflis, who claimed to have obtained a verbal promise of Armenian antonomy from the Russian government. It was this promise that made thousands of Armenians desert from Turkey and join the volunteers in Russia, which in turn formed the foundation for the series of unparalleled atrocities perpetrated by the Turkish government upon its Armenian population.

The Turks resorted to the old method of instigating race hatred. The Kurds, who formed a very considerable portion of the population of Armenia, were, together with the Turks and other Moslems, incited against the Armenians. In 1915 the Turkish and Russian armies executed several important movements on the Transcaucasian front, resulting in the destruction of many Armenian settlements when the Turks retreated and the wiping out of large Kurdish communities by the revengeful Armenians and Russians upon their advance. It was in 1915, therefore, that the Armenian-Kurdish struggle assumed a definite form. It grew so relentless in the following years that the two races simply waged a campaign of mutual

resentatives of the Georgians, Tartars and Armenians, and constituted themselves into a supreme Transcaucasian Diet. This did not prevent each of the three races from developing its own institutions and national autonomy. On January 31 delegates representing most of the Armenian provinces met in Erzerum, where the Armenian legions were concentrated, and declared Armenian independence. Meanwhile Turkey had concluded a peace with the Bolshevist government at Brest-Litovsk by which Russia was compelled to cede to Turkey parts of the provinces of Batum, Kars and Ardahan, while the Ukrainian troops which occupied Trebizond retired as soon as their government concluded a separate peace with the Central Powers. Armenia and Georgia were directly affected by the pacts. A verbal agreement was reached between the Armenians and Georgians according to which the former were to defend the Erzerum line and the latter the Trebizond front. When the Turks advanced, however, the Georgians did not show up at Trebizond and the Armenians were left alone to fight the Turks. They offered heroic resistance, but in March Erzerum fell and the Ottoman forces moved to occupy the provinces ceded to them at Brest-Litovsk.

A crisis was soon reached in the life of the Transcaucasian Diet. The Tartars were not disposed to fight the Turks who had encouraged the

Tartar national movement. The Georgians took the view that Transcaucasia was not in a condition to oppose the Turkish realization of the Brest-Litovsk provisions and the Armenians were advised by Ghegechkori, President of the Diet, to drop all resistance. This advice was not followed by all the Russian Armenians, who together with their Turkish brethren continued to harass the Ottoman invaders. The latter continued to advance, occupying territory which had never been legally surrendered to them. This finally brought the Turks into conflict with the Diet, which addressed to them a request for peace. The Turks demanded as a preliminary condition for peace negotiations "that the Diet should declare the secession of Transcaucasia from Russia and proclaim the independence of the Caucasus," so as to enable them to negotiate with sovereign peoples. The Diet agreed to do so against the protests of the Armenians, who thereupon left it in a body. In spite of the terrible ravages of forty months of war, the Armenians were able to offer such violent resistance to the Turks that the Ottoman government, in July, 1918, consented to sign a peace with the Armenians, recognizing the "Armenian Independent Republic of Ararat," with its capital at Erivan.

Then, in October, Turkey surrendered to the Allies. The armistice provision calling for Allied occupation of the six Armenian vilayets in Turkey

in case of disorder did not satisfy the Armenian nationalists as radical enough. They dispatched a military mission to the Allied countries, headed by General Torcom, who issued on November 12, at Archangel, before departing for western Europe, the following remarkable manifesto:

"In December, 1917, the Russian armies of the Caucasus abandoned the Armenian front. On January 31, 1918, although having at our disposal only very limited forces, owing to the fact that the state of anarchy prevailing did not allow us to employ all our soldiers, but in full possession of a large part of Armenian territories, we solemnly proclaimed at Erzerum, in the presence of troops, the population, and the provincial Armenian delegates, the independence of Armenia, which includes Greater Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and Cilician Armenia.

"We placed these countries under the protection of four Allied powers, Great Britain, the United States, France, and Italy. Deserted by the Russians, betrayed by the Georgians, and attacked on all sides by the Turco-German forces, Kurds, Tartars, and twenty other races intent on our extermination, we have fought with a handful of gallant soldiers for the independence of our country. We were away from our great western Allies, and were without the least possibility of receiving help. However, our faith in the final triumph of our cause, which was also the cause of all peoples out-

raged by the barbaric Teutons, never failed us. . . .

"At the cost of innumerable difficulties I have crossed the vast Russian territory, which is seething with unrest. I now come to you charged with a sacred trust and mission. I bring to you the Armenian flag. My mission is to gather round this flag, which has become the emblem of our suffering, our faith, and our burning thirst for liberty, an Armenian army of 100,000 men. We must help our glorious Allies to take possession from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, of all Armenian countries, where our martyrs are to be counted by hundreds of thousands.

"Armenians, I come to ask you to make the supreme effort. . . . Armenia does not wish to die. She wishes to become great, powerful, and respected. She desires, at least, to take her place, which has been so dearly bought, among civilized peoples. In order to bring to a successful end the work of attaining independence for Armenia amidst a ruined country, Armenia wishes every one of you to do your duty. After having been for so long a sorrow-stricken witness of Armenia's martyrdom, the hour has at last struck when the entire world will look with admiration on the rebirth of Armenia."

On December 4, 1918, the Armenian National Delegation, formed in Paris, under the presidency of Boghos Nubar, declared the independence of

integral Armenia and Cilicia under the collective protection of the Allies and the United States. On December 29, Foreign Minister Pichon, of France, announced: "Our rights are incontestable in Armenia, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. They are based on historic conventions and on more recent contracts." These contracts were the secret treaties and understandings concluded among the Allies in 1915-17, whereby France was "to guide the affairs" of Armenia, Syria and the Lebanon. Pichon's announcement occasioned a great stir among the Armenians, who protested strongly against being put, without their knowledge, under the protection of a single European Power.

The Armenians realize that without outside help they cannot expect to set up a durable government, but they wish it to come from international authority. However, even with the aid of the Allies and the United States it would be a most difficult task to define Armenia's exact boundaries ethnographically. If Armenia should be reconstituted on historic lines, then against three million Armenians it would comprise at least five millions of Kurds, Turks, Greeks, Persians, and other races. It is possible to carve out an ethnographic Armenia in which the Armenians would be in the majority, but in order to do so successfully the Armenians would have to forget their historical claims and to consent to the creation of an autonomous Kurd-

ish state in Kurdistan. As the Kurds in Armenia are still largely nomadic, the erection of an autonomous Kurdistan would reabsorb the Kurds who migrated from there to settle on the Armenian plateau. An ethnographic Armenia would include those parts of Georgia and Azerbaijan, where the Armenians predominate, although historically these parts are not Armenian; it would necessarily fail to include certain historical sections of Armenia where the Kurds now predominate.

Historic justice and a powerful national consciousness are the strongest arguments for Armenian independence. Culturally, the Armenians are unquestionably fit to lead in the development of the Middle East. Valery Brusov, the Russian poet, who has studied the Armenian literature and history, says that in spite of the horrors they have undergone in the course of their long history, the Armenians have created an original culture and have given to the world one of the richest literatures, unfortunately not sufficiently studied. "The greatest worth of the Armenian literature," he adds, "lies perhaps in its lyrical poetry of the Middle Ages—a magnificent synthesis of sober Greek harmony and Oriental exuberance and splendor. There is no doubt that when it is brought to the knowledge of the great public, the lyrical poetry of Mediæval Armenia will be recognized as one of the treasures of humanity."

The Armenian national will finds its strongest expression in Armenia's poetry and press. All over the world Armenian apostles of independence have carried the message of their people to the civilized nations. The passionate love for their country is the keynote of most of the modern Armenian poets. A fine example of this is presented by the following poem, from the pen of Khorene Nar Bey de Lusignan, a descendant of the last Armenian kings, and rendered into English by Alice Stone Blackwell:

If a sceptre of diamond, a glittering crown,
Were mine, at thy feet I would lay them both down,
Queen of queens, O Armenia!

If a mantle of purple were given to me,
A mantle for kings, I would wrap it round thee,
Poor Armenia, my mother!

If the fire of my youth and its sinews of steel
Could return, I would offer its rapture and zeal
All to thee, my Armenia!

Had a lifetime of ages been granted to me,
I had given it gladly and freely to thee,
O my life, my Armenia!

Were I offered the love of a maid lily-fair,
I would choose thee alone for my joy and my care,
My one love, my Armenia!

Were I given a crown of rich pearls, I should prize,
Far more than their beauty, one tear from thine eyes,
O my weeping Armenia!

If freedom unbounded were proffered to me,
I would choose still to share thy sublime slavery,
O my mother, Armenia!

Were I offered proud Europe, to take or refuse,
Thee alone, with thy griefs on thy head, would I choose
For my country, Armenia!

Might I choose from the world where my dwelling should be,
I would say, Still thy ruins are Eden to me,
My beloved Armenia!

Were I given a seraph's celestial lyre,
I would sing with my soul, to its chords of pure fire,
Thy dear name, my Armenia!

VIII

GEORGIA

It is only a little more than a century since the kingdom of Georgia lost its independence and was made a virtual province of the Russian Empire, and yet Georgia is a *terra incognita* to the Western peoples. Among the minor races of the former Russian state the Georgians were one of the most progressive and vigorous national units. The Georgians are a people with rich traditions, a keen national consciousness, and a high state of culture.

The home of the Georgians is western Transcaucasia. They and their kindred races practically occupy the entire Transcaucasian coast on the Black Sea. In the south they adjoin the Armenians. In the east their neighbors are the Tartars. The Caucasus range is north of them. There are nearly two and a half million Georgians of all descriptions in Transcaucasia. The various Georgian tribes, speaking diverse dialects, have in recent years been fusing together and adopting one literary language.

The Georgians belong to the Aryan family.

They settled in their present country thousands of years ago, arriving from the great Iranian plateau. Their civilization is the oldest in the Caucasus, if not in the entire world. Physically they are the finest typification of the white race. The men are athletic and handsome, the women beautiful.

The history of Georgia as an independent state goes back to biblical times. According to Georgian tradition, their kingdom was founded by a descendant of Noah. It was only during the third century B. C., however, that Georgia became identified with recorded history. Alexander the Great conquered it and left one of his generals to rule it. This foreign government was overthrown by a national rising under the leadership of the popular hero, Pharmabazes, who founded the first Georgian dynasty. In the second century B. C., his descendant was overthrown and the throne passed into the hands of an Armenian prince. The union with Armenia embroiled Georgia in a war with Rome. General Pompey invaded Georgia and subdued it, but not for long. Nearly two centuries later Rome waged another campaign against Georgia. In the third century a Persian prince, Miriam, by marriage succeeded the Armenian dynasty and established the Sasanid ruling house. It was during his rule that Georgia first received the Christian missionary named Nina. The Greek emperor sent a delegation of priests to baptize the Georgian king and people. Christianity

was then introduced into Georgia, dividing its many tribes into Christian and non-Christian factions. The latter came under the influence of Zoroastrianism. With the support of Persia these waged bitter warfare against their Christian brethren, overrunning Georgia. It was a Persian general who founded, in 379, the city of Tiflis. In time the Christians gained ascendancy, and toward the end of the fifth century the fire-worshipers were subdued and Christianity firmly established. King Vakhtang Gurgaslan, the Wolf-Lion, 446-499, made Georgia a great power. He established a patriarchate at Mtzkhet, which was recognized by Emperor Justinian of Byzantium as an independent Church.

Georgia was again menaced by Persia during the sixth century. The people appealed to Byzantium for help, which was furnished in the person of an Armenian prince named Guaram, who governed Georgia as a Byzantine viceroy. He was the founder of the dynasty of Bagratids, which ended with the passing away of Georgian independence. Beginning with the seventh century Georgia was in turn invaded by Arabs, Turks, and Tartars. The country was split into many principalities. Until the year 1000 the Arabs dominated Georgia. It was freed and reunited by Kings David and Bagrat in the eleventh century, but was soon conquered and devastated by the Turks, who were finally driven out in 1080 and a powerful Georgian

state, embracing practically entire Transcaucasia, was erected by King David the Renovator. He laid the foundations of Georgian civilization, building churches, founding schools, encouraging arts and learning. His successor expanded the kingdom's boundaries. Georgia reached its height of prosperity and civilization under Queen Thamara, who ascended the throne in 1184. Her name is "still venerated as a glorious, if half-legendary tradition wherever the Georgian tongue is spoken," writes Luigi Villari; "almost every church and every castle is attributed to her, and a whole host of legends has gathered about her personality. . . . She waged war successfully against both the Turks and the Greeks, and after the fall of the Byzantine Empire at the hands of the Crusaders she helped to form the empire of Trebizond. But at her death, in 1212, the edifice, laboriously raised, crumbled once more."

The Mongols appeared on the scene. The hordes of Genghiz Khan laid the country waste. Early in the fourteenth century Georgia recovered and prospered. But again the Mongols, under Tamerlane, swept over the land, devastating it with fire and sword. In the fifteenth century the Mongols were expelled by King Alexander I, who, at his death, in 1442, divided his kingdom among his three sons. One of these principalities, Kakhetia, applied to the Muscovite Tsar, Ivan III, for protection, in 1492, when the Turks and the Per-

sians were playing havoc with Georgia. The Persians finally gained control and ruled through local princes. Early in the eighteenth century the Georgian king, Vakhtang VI, reigning by the grace of the Persians, established close relations with Russia, hoping to free Georgia from the foreign yoke and save his people from the fanatical Moslems. Vakhtang concluded an alliance with Peter the Great in 1722, declared his independence of Persia, and sent an army of thirty thousand to coöperate with the Russians against the Persians. Peter the Great betrayed the Georgians by making a separate peace with Persia in 1724, recognizing her suzerainty over Georgia, with an eye to the ultimate absorption of Georgia by Russia. The Turks, gaining power while the Persians were busy elsewhere, penetrated Georgia and compelled Vakhtang to abdicate. However, shortly afterward, the Persians expelled the Turks and placed Irakli II on the Georgian throne. This ruler was the last to raise his country again to a high state of prosperity. He is described as "one of the most remarkable men of his time, who excited the admiration of all Europe; under him Georgia revived and prospered, and became for the last time a powerful and independent state. Culture and civilization spread, order and unity were achieved, and the neighboring Tartar khanates reduced to vassalage."

He declared Georgia's complete independence

when Persia collapsed. The Turkish danger, however, compelled him to seek support in Europe. He sent two missions to Austria, but failed to obtain aid. He was compelled to turn to Russia, in 1769. Russia's policy toward Georgia was formulated by Catherine the Great as follows in her instructions to the Russian representatives in the Caucasus: "Do nothing likely to strengthen Georgia." Following these instructions the Russians, having allied themselves with the Georgians against the Turks, deserted the former on the battlefield. After valiant fighting, with varying fortune, Georgia was at the mercy of the Turks and Persians. Tiflis, the capital, was captured in 1795 and burned. Irakli died heart-broken in 1798, leaving a feeble kingdom to his son George, who was compelled to enter into negotiations with Tsar Paul, placing Georgia under Russian protection. A treaty was drawn up in 1799, providing for the transfer of Georgia to the Russian Empire, on condition that "the crown" was to be vested in George and his heirs, who were to retain the chief authority in the country, but without legislative powers; the people were to enjoy immunity from taxation for twelve years; the number of Russian troops in Georgia was not to exceed six thousand, and military service for the Georgians was to take the form of a national militia; the Georgian Church was to be independent, and Georgian was

to remain the official and educational language." (Luigi Villari.)

The treaty was utterly disregarded by Russia and in 1802 Georgia was by military force turned into a Russian province. There was discontent and rebellion, but the imperial policy was carried out in typical fashion. Arrests, persecutions, banishments followed. In time even the Georgian Church and its funds were put in charge of the Russian Holy Synod. The Russification of Georgia was systematically carried on by the Tsar's authorities. Nevertheless, Georgia prospered under Russian rule. Many of its sons rose high in the councils of the Empire, distinguishing themselves in diplomacy, military leadership and literature.

Georgian nationalism, however, was not suppressed by the Russian policy. With the growth of a revolutionary movement throughout Russia there also developed one in Georgia. At first it took a national turn only, fostered by the aristocratic classes. The latter are highly educated, and even among the common people illiteracy is low. It has been said that proportionately the Georgian nation has more men of letters, journalists, poets and dramatists than any other race in the world. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Socialism began to spread in Georgia, making remarkable headway. It aimed primarily at the semi-feudal landlords, as well as the limited in-

dustrial plants which had developed in Georgia in recent years. The Socialists became a great force in Georgia, embracing in their ranks the peasants, workers and intellectuals.

Owing to the fact that the Georgian middle-class is small and the aristocracy naturally in the minority, the Socialist elements practically controlled the destinies of the country during the revolutionary year of 1905. The former strove for separation from Russia, advocating complete independence for Georgia. However, the Socialists stood for union with democratic Russia, some of them claiming autonomy in an all-Russian federation. All Georgians were united in their opposition to monarchism. All desired the republican form of government. It was from the midst of the Socialists that there sprang into being the so-called Gurian Republic, which attracted international attention in the year of 1905. The Gurians are described as "the bravest and most warlike, most chivalrous, most handsome, most hospitable, most educated, although not the most unpractical of the Georgians." They were profoundly stirred by the Socialist doctrine and determined to put it into practice in their district, Guria, in the province of Kutais. They began with refusing to pay their annual taxes to the Russian authorities; they proceeded to boycott the government officials and set up a communistic administration; they established native schools in which

Socialism was taught and introduced popular tribunals in place of the corrupt Russian courts. The whole economic, political and social status of the race was modeled after the latest socialistic theories. In the fall of 1905, when Tsarism was baffled by the revolutionary movement, a radical was appointed to the governorship of Kutais. However, he was removed when the tide of reaction followed, and even arrested and accused of high treason. The "Gurian Republic" became the target of the reactionary government. Cossacks and infantry were sent to suppress it, causing terrible bloodshed. It was finally wiped out and thousands of Georgians were jailed and exiled.

The revolution of 1917 occurred almost simultaneously in Petrograd and the Caucasus, while preparations had been made for a general strike. These were not carried out because of the swiftness of developments in the Russian capital. The imperial authorities in the Caucasus fell two days after the abdication of the Tsar.

Although before the Revolution Georgian nationalism was being encouraged by the Russian governors for the purpose of maintaining the differences existing among the three nationalities of Transcaucasia, the Georgians, Tartars and Armenians, March 18, 1917, saw one of the most wonderful manifestations of international brotherhood in Tiflis. All the tribes, races and classes of Transcaucasia united in celebrating the great

freedom, sinking all past quarrels. The Georgians, the most advanced and civilized national elements there, led in the formation of a Transcaucasian federation. The councils of workmen and peasants that sprang up everywhere, from Baku to Batum, gave birth to a central provisional government—the "Commissariat." The Georgians were the guiding spirit of it, and they were for a union with a federated Russian Republic. In the Provisional Government during the Lvov-Kerensky period and in the then moderate Soviets, several gifted Georgians labored incessantly to stay the tide of Bolshevism and create a democratic Russian state founded on the principle of federation.

When the Russian Provisional Government was overthrown by the Bolsheviki in November, 1917, the Transcaucasian "Commissariat" decided to strengthen the Georgian-Armenian-Tartar union by convoking a Diet or general assembly. It met in January, 1918, at Tiflis, and comprised about 120 members, representing all the racial groups of Transcaucasia. However, it soon faced a crisis. The surrender of Russia at Brest-Litovsk, by which Turkey obtained parts of the provinces of Batum, Kars and Ardahan, introduced the element of dispute in the Diet. The Armenians wanted to fight the Turks. The Tartars declared that their ethnical and spiritual relations with the Turks were such as to welcome them as friends. The Georgians, while hostile to Turkish encroach-

ments, considered that the best way out was to wait for the ending of the Great War. Some Georgians, however, did promise the Armenians military aid in a campaign against the Turks, but the Armenians never received it.

The Turks then invaded Transcaucasia. The Diet sought to conclude peace with them, but the Ottoman command replied that it would deal only with sovereign nations, separately or jointly. The Diet then voted on April 27 to declare Transcaucasian independence, against the protests of the Armenians, Russians and several Georgians. The Armenians thereupon left the Diet. On May 25 it declared the establishment of the independent republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and the following day it dissolved.

But the Turks continued to press on, and the Georgians were compelled to seek protection in Berlin. Perhaps it was due to Germany's influence that Turkey finally consented to conclude peace with Georgia. The Turkish-Georgian treaty was a direct violation of the Brest-Litovsk pact. Turkey, in addition to the territory obtained by the latter agreement, now wrested from weak Georgia the Achalkalaki district of the Tiflis province.

IX

AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan is the name of the Tartar Republic set up in Transcaucasia in May, 1918. It extends along the lower part of the western Caspian coast from the Caucasus range to the Persian province of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan forms a state of about 30,000 square miles, including the Russian provinces of Baku, Elizavetpol and Daghestan, and some Persian territory to the south, with a population of more than 3,000,000.

There are several million Tartars in Russia, scattered in the Crimea, the Volga basin, Siberia and Transcaucasia. The Tartars of the latter territory are the least entitled to bear that name. They represent a mixture of races and tribes, with Turkish blood predominating in their veins. Their historical claims to the country they now inhabit are as strong as Turkey's claims to Anatolia. The Turks and Tartars occupied these regions in comparatively recent times. The Persians have a stronger historical claim to Azerbaijan. They were there before Ghengiz Khan. They still have there a considerable minority in the population.

Because the Transcaucasian Tartars first invaded the Persian province of Azerbaijan and later moved northward to their present location, they are described as Azerbaijan Tartars, and hence the name of their Republic. However, the Persians point to the signs of Persian culture existing among the original inhabitants of the Tartar provinces before the arrival of the Mongols, to support their claim to control them now. Thus, they say, Zoroaster himself was a native of Azerbaijan; some of the leading Persian poets in the tenth and eleventh centuries hailed from there; while from Baku to Tabriz monuments of Persian architecture are scattered.

The Persians' strongest claim is, however, their possession of the Tartar lands up to the time Russia became interested in Transcaucasia. There are in fact nearly two hundred thousand people in Azerbaijan, in the province of Baku, who are of Iranian stock. These are the Tates, who speak a Persian dialect. But in religion they are one with the Tartars, being Shiah Mohammedans. Besides, they have identified themselves with Tartar nationalism, adopting even the latter's language and traditions.

Under Persian domination the Tartars enjoyed self-government. Their land was divided into eight khanates. The khans owned nearly all the land, so that they were in effect feudal princes, paying tribute to Persia. Turkey and Persia

fought repeatedly over the Tartar provinces, causing terrible suffering to the Transcaucasian Christians, the Armenians and the Georgians, who finally appealed to Russia for help. It was in 1722 that Peter the Great sent an expedition to conquer Baku and Derbent. Since then Russia's penetration of Transcaucasia continued methodically and relentlessly. In 1813 the six northern Tartar khanates definitely passed from Persia into the possession of Russia. In 1828 Russia and Persia again came to grips, and this time the last two khanates of Erivan and Nakhchiva became provinces of the Tsar's empire. The Russian conquest of the Tartars was accomplished largely with the help of the Armenians, who had been oppressed by the khans.

"After the Russian occupation," writes Luigi Villari, "this oppression ceased and some sort of order and justice was established. Yet, although deprived of political power, the khans and begs still preserved great influence in the country, and the Tartar peasantry looked upon them as their hereditary chiefs, whom it was their duty to obey. Nor were the Tartar estates touched; on the contrary, owing to the more settled state of the country, they increased in value. Russian nobility was conferred on the chiefs, who were treated with every mark of respect, and often given official positions in the army, the civil service, and the local administration. But the Moslem

community could not forget that the loss of their predominance was largely due to the Armenians, for which they never forgave them. . . .

"A more serious cause of hostility is the fact that the Tartars have all, more or less, the instinct of brigandage. From time immemorial they have been raiders, and to this day many villages have no other means of livelihood than plunder. The khans themselves, especially in the mountains, are often little better than robber barons, who keep hosts of armed retainers to forage them. . . . A large number of Tartars are still nomads, and migrate annually from the mountains to the plains and from the plains to the mountains with their flocks and herds. In the course of these peregrinations they frequently come into armed conflict with the sedentary Armenians, and murders, outrages, and abduction of cattle are the result. . . .

"The Tartars are in every respect the opposite of the Armenians. Their outward characteristics are most sympathetic. They have a dignity of bearing and a charm of manner which endear them to all who come in contact with them. These qualities are indeed common to most Mohammedans, who have a chivalry and gentlemanliness which makes us forget even serious faults, and disregard the wrongs and sufferings which they inflict on less attractive Christian peoples. They have been a ruling military caste for centuries, and this has made them an aristocracy of *grands seigneurs*. I

have met Tartars whom, although I knew them to be utter scoundrels, I could not help liking. There is something magnificently mediæval about them which the virtuous but bourgeois Armenian lacks. . . .

"The Tartars are extraordinarily backward in their development, and as ignorant and barbarous as any race in Asia; for this the Russian government is largely to blame, as it has hitherto discouraged education among them, while they themselves seldom trouble to provide schools of their own. Until quite recently no Tartar newspapers were permitted, except one at Bakhtchi Sarai in the Crimea, the number of mullahs, the only teachers for a large part of the people, has been strictly limited, and the Moslem faith placed in a position of tutelage under an officially appointed Sheikh-ul-Islam."

In 1905 the Tsar's agents in Transcaucasia made use of the ignorance and backwardness of the Tartars to incite them against the Armenians. There followed numerous massacres and feuds, resulting in great bloodshed, which played into the hands of the Russian authorities. However, in October, 1905, when the revolution seemed triumphant and the Caucasus was swept by the hurricane of freedom, new relations were established between the Tartars and Armenians, especially the workers of both races in the oil region. The reaction that followed again fostered race hatred,

but the seeds of enlightenment sown by the Revolution in October soon yielded fruit.

The Persian Revolution reverberated deeply among the Tartars and the Turkish Revolution stirred them even more profoundly. The Tartars awoke to the call of civilization and nationalism. They realized that the Russian autocracy was their first and most dangerous enemy. The Young Turks naturally encouraged the nationalist revival among the Tartars, especially when the Pan-Turkish, or Turanian, movement came into being in the Ottoman Empire. In September, 1914, the Turkish delegates who came to Erzerum to ask Armenia's support of Turkey in the war with Russia, indicated that the Ottoman government planned to conquer all Transcaucasia and set up in its eastern part a Tartar Republic under the suzerainty of the Porte. The Russian Revolution of 1917, however, swung the Tartars at first to the side of free Russia. They entered the Transcaucasian Diet, formed in January, 1918, with a view to such a future orientation. But then came Russia's collapse. Immediately the separatist national sentiments of the Tartars, as well as of the Georgians and Armenians, asserted themselves. When Turkey, the moral backer of Tartar nationalism, invaded the Caucasus to carry out the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Armenians advocated resistance, the Georgians hesi-

tated, while the Tartars took a friendly stand toward Turkey.

The Diet dissolved after declaring Transcaucasian independence and the creation of the separate sovereign Republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia. Since May 26, 1918, therefore, there has been in existence a Tartar state, with its capital at Baku. The friendly relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey placed the rich oil wells of the country at the disposal of the Central Powers. The Armenians and Russians united to take possession of Baku, and with the reinforcement of a small British contingent they held the city and its vicinity till the Tartars, reinforced by a Turkish-German army, succeeded, in the summer of 1918, in capturing the capital of the Azerbaijan Republic. Shortly afterwards, however, the British and Armenians, upon the withdrawal of Turks and Germans, again occupied Baku and its vicinity.